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FREDSON BOWERS



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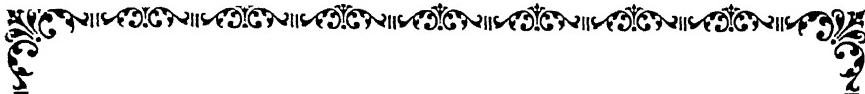
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THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

The Manuscript of Jefferson's
Unpublished Errata List for
Abbé Morellet's Translation
of the *Notes on Virginia*

by

JOSEPH M. CARRIÈRE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA



The Manuscript of Jefferson's Unpublished Errata List for Abbé Morellet's Translation of the *Notes on Virginia*

WRITTEN ORIGINALLY WITH NO VIEW to publication, but merely in answer to "a paper containing sundry inquiries" received in 1781 from M. de Barbé-Marbois, secretary of the French Legation in Philadelphia, Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* (1785) contained a frank exposition of his views in favor of the revision of the constitution of that state and the abolition of slavery. The author was fully aware that these views differed radically from those held by many of his American contemporaries and might provoke to no useful purpose bitter controversy, if freely advocated in print.¹ For this reason, the *Notes*, which were first printed in Paris during the latter part of 1784 and the first months of 1785,² came off

1. See letter of Jefferson to Chastellux written on June 7, 1785, in which he gives the French author permission to translate for the *Journal de Physique* sections of the *Notes* which might be of interest to the editors, but adds: "The strictures on slavery and on the constitution of Virginia are not of that kind, and they are parts which I do not want to have made public, at least till I know whether their publication would do more harm or good. It is possible that in my own country these strictures might produce an irritation which would indispose the people towards the two great objects I have in view, that is the emancipation of their slaves & the settlement of their constitution

on a firmer & more permanent basis. If I learn from thence, that they will not produce that effect, I have printed & reserved just copies enough to be able to give one to every young man at the College. It is to them I look, the rising generation, and not to the one in power, for these great reformations." *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Ford edition (New York and London, 1904), III, 318-19. Will be referred to henceforth as Ford. Chastellux's plan to translate parts of the *Notes* was never put into execution.

2. For more information on this subject, see Alice H. Lerch, "Who was the Printer of

the press in a limited edition of 200 copies bearing no author's name and intended strictly for private distribution. Jefferson took great care to write on the fly leaf of every copy presented to friends a note enjoining them not to communicate the book to anyone who could not be relied upon to protect it against publication. Yet it was not long before he made the painful discovery that, at the death of one of the recipients, a copy had fallen into the hands of the bookseller Barrois, who was now planning to publish "a surreptitious translation." "This," Jefferson wrote to C. W. F. Dumas on February 2, 1786, "has induced me to yield to a friendly proposition from the Abbé Morellet, to translate and publish them, submitting the sheets previously to my inspection. As a translation by so able a hand will lessen the faults of the original, instead of their being multiplied by a hireling translator, I shall add to it a map and such other advantages as may prevent the mortification of my seeing it in the injurious form threatened."³

From a letter which Jefferson wrote to his friend Madison a few days later, we not only learn that Morellet had owned a copy of the *Notes* which had been presented to him by their author, but also that he had already translated "some passages for a particular purpose" before anything was known about Barrois's plan.⁴ It was therefore natural that he should have agreed with the bookseller to prepare for him a translation of the entire book if he would refuse to publish the other version. As for Jefferson, he really had no choice but to accept such an arrangement, although he had never intended to have his work translated into French. He lived in an age when authors enjoyed no effective protection against unscrupulous printers.

The fact that Jefferson had given Morellet a copy of the

"Jefferson's Notes?" in Bookmen's Holiday. *Notes and Studies Written and Gathered in Tribute to Harry Miller Lydenberg* (New York, 1943), 44-56.

3. Ford, III, 324-25; see also Jefferson's letter to Dr. Edward Bancroft, February 26, 1786, *ibid.*, III, 325.

4. The text of this letter written on February 8 will be found in Ford, III, 322.

Notes shows that he held him in very high esteem. Morellet and Franklin were habitués of the Société d'Auteuil composed of men of letters who met at the home of Mme. Helvétius.⁵ Jefferson probably met the Abbé through Franklin, who, as we know, introduced his American colleague to many prominent literary personages in the French capital.⁶ Morellet enjoyed great prestige in intellectual circles. His sharp wit led Voltaire to make a pun on his name and call him "l'Abbé Mord-les," "Abbé Bites-Them." In 1785, he was elected to the French Academy, the highest honor to which a man of letters could aspire. Jefferson knew, of course, that he had not only published in 1766 a translation of Beccaria's famous treatise *Dei Delitti e delle Pene*, for which Voltaire had written an anonymous preface, but that he had also translated in 1774 John Gregory's highly popular book, *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters*, and revised a French version of William Robertson's *History of Scotland* published in Paris in 1764.⁷ Since Jefferson was uninformed about the careless way in which the delicate art of translation was generally practised at that time and took it for granted that others set for themselves the same high standards which he always imposed upon himself, it is not surprising that he should have fallen into the error of believing Morellet eminently qualified to render the *Notes on Virginia* into French.

One should like to follow the progress of the translation from the time it was begun for Barrois until it was completed. Unfortunately, we have little documentation on this subject. Our information has to be derived almost entirely from six

5. Morellet speaks at length of his relations with Franklin in his *Mémoires sur le dix-neuvième siècle et sur la révolution* (Second edition, Paris, 1822), 1, 295 ff.

6. See Gilbert Chinard, *Les Amitiés américaines de Madame d'Houdetot d'après sa correspondance intime avec Benjamin Franklin et Thomas Jefferson* (Paris, 1924).

7. Morellet's *Mémoires* constitute an interesting record of his literary activities as well as a valuable source of information on French intellectual life during the eighteenth century. He was born in 1729 and died in 1819. Additional information on him will be found in Pierre Proteau's monograph, *Etude sur Morellet considéré comme auxiliaire de l'école physiocratique et examen de ses principaux ouvrages économiques* (Paris, 1910).

letters dated only by days of the week and all of them from Morellet to Jefferson.⁸ From these, we gather, however, a few details which are not without interest. On one occasion, Morellet sends Jefferson a few pages of his French text to find out from him whether he has understood well the trend of his thought.⁹ At some other time, he returns pages which have been of help to him in correcting his translation. Although the context is vague, he is apparently referring to notes or comments which Jefferson had transmitted to him on specific details of translation.¹⁰ In another letter, Morellet tries to justify the way he had rendered the phrase "a knowledge of the first order."¹¹ On three different occasions, he comes back to the subject of the printing and engraving of the map of Virginia which both he and Jefferson considered an indispensable supplement to the book.¹² From remarks to be found in Morellet's letters, it seems clear that he did not first translate the entire book before transmitting his manuscript to the printer, but sent him from time to time a certain number of pages, which had been previously submitted to Jefferson for his examination.

The translation of the *Notes* appeared with the following title page: Observations| sur | La Virginie, | Par M. J***. | Traduites de L'Anglois. | A Paris, | Chez Barrois, l'aîné, Libraire, rue du | Hurepoix, près le pont Saint-Michel. | 1786. It should be noted that the title-page did not bear the name of the translator, and carried only the initial of Jefferson's name. The book was published with a new map of Virginia prepared by the author.¹³

Although the translation appeared with the imprint of

8. Jefferson Papers. Library of Congress. Volume 46, folios 7782-7792. A letter from Jefferson to Morellet dated July 2, 1787, and dealing with their difficulties with Barrois in connection with the map prepared for the book is printed in Ford, *iii*, 332-35.

9. Folio 7783.

10. Folio 7782.

11. Folio 7785.

12. Folios 7782, 7787-7790.

13. This map was engraved by Neale of London and is also the one used in the 1787 edition of the *Notes* published by Stockdale.

1786, and this date has been accepted as that of publication by bibliographers as well as students of Jefferson, actually it was not published until the following year. In a letter to the English bookseller, John Stockdale, dated February 1, 1787, and dealing with the publication of an edition of the *Notes* in London, Jefferson wrote: "I never did intend to have made them public, because they are little interesting to the rest of the world, but as a translation of them is coming out, I have concluded to let the original appear also."¹⁴ While we cannot determine the exact week or month Morellet's translation was actually published, we know that it came out during the first part of 1787, since the *Mercure de France* published a long review of it in its issues of June 2 and 9 of that year.¹⁵

The book as it appeared in print, with the exception of the map, had little which could appeal to a man of such exacting taste and high literary standards as Jefferson. It was printed on paper of mediocre quality; the type was not attractive; there were numerous misprints and errors of translation, and the order of the material had been changed.

In the *Avertissement*, Morellet explained the reason which had induced him to transpose parts of the text from the place where they occurred in the original to a different one in the translation. He wrote:

"L'Ouvrage qu'on donne ici au Public a été imprimé en 1782 [sic], sous le titre de *Notes on Virginia*, & n'est en effet qu'un recueil de Notes, ou Observations détachées, servant de réponse aux Questions d'un ami de l'Auteur, Européen qui cherchoit à connoître cette partie des États-Unis; mais on ne craint pas d'annoncer que sous un titre si modeste, le Lecteur trouvera des connaissances approfondies & des idées étendues.

"L'Ouvrage n'ayant d'autre plan que celui qu'a donné l'ordre des Questions, qui n'est pas toujours le plus naturel

14. Ford, III, 330.

15. Pages 29-40, 69-81. This is a highly

enthusiastic review in which Jefferson's book is acclaimed as a notable contribution to science and philosophy.

qu'on pût suivre, le Traducteur a pris la liberté, avec l'agrément de l'Auteur, de transposer quelques morceaux."¹⁶

Morellet's explanation contains factual errors which must have irked the author considerably. The *Notes on Virginia* were not published in 1782 as stated by the translator, but in 1785, even if the title-page of the Paris edition bore the imprint of 1782. Jefferson and Barbé-Marbois exchanged letters, but the relationship which existed between them was not such that they can be called friends. Moreover, if Jefferson ever agreed to the changes made in the order of the text of the *Notes*, it must have been most reluctantly and only under very great pressure since he later expressed unequivocal disapproval of the transpositions made by the translator.¹⁷

Morellet lists the most important of these changes and adds that nothing has been omitted from the original. The seventh query of the original devoted to the study of the climate has become the second chapter of the translation.¹⁸ The ninth and tenth queries of the English text dealing with military forces on land¹⁹ and sea²⁰ have been placed towards the end of the book after the last paragraph of the part concerning public income and expenses. The proposal for the emancipation of the Negroes, which, in the original, came under the heading "Plan for the revision of our constitution"²¹ has been transferred to the section devoted to the slaves.²² The observations

16. The text of the *Avertissement*, found in the translation on pages i-v, is reproduced in French in Ford, III, 327-29.

17. See Ford, V, 367-68 for his comments in a letter written to William Carmichael on December 15, 1787.

18. Morellet, pp. 4-20; Jefferson, pp. 134-51. All references to the English text of the transpositions are to the 1785 edition of the *Notes*.

19. Morellet, pp. 339-42; Jefferson, pp. 162-65.

20. Morellet's chapter entitled "Marine militaire et Navigation," pp. 343-47, includes not only query x on the marine, found on page

165 of the original, but also the last part of query xxi on weights, measures, and money from page 317, line 25, to the end on page 322.

21. There is no such heading in Jefferson's text. The proposal for the emancipation of the slaves is outlined on pages 251, line 16, to 265, line 4, of "Query xiv. The administration of justice and the description of the laws?"

22. Morellet's chapter, "Esclaves noirs," pp. 198-217, comes from four different sections of the *Notes*. Pages 198, line 7, to 199, line 5; 199, line 6, to 212, line 11; 212, line 13, to 215, line 13; 215, line 14, to the end of the chapter correspond to pages 161, line 6, to 162

communicated to Jefferson by his friend Charles Thomson after reading the manuscript no longer appear in an appendix at the end of the book, but are printed in the text after the passages to which they refer. They are set off from Jefferson's text by square brackets. Jefferson's notes have been removed from the bottom of the page and printed also in the text. The translator justifies this change by saying that Thomson's notes are comments on those of Jefferson, which seem to be related closely enough to the text to form a connected sequence with it. "This is," Morellet adds, "the way notes should always be, if by following this rule, one were not dispensed from writing any."

However objectionable all these changes were to Jefferson, the presence of numerous misprints and errors in the translation was undoubtedly a still greater source of disappointment to him. As is well known to bibliographers, not one, but two errata lists entirely different in their contents were printed, the second as a cancellans after the sheets had been impressed. One of these lists is only nine lines long, while the other covers approximately two pages and a half.²³

Among its rich collections of Jeffersoniana, the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia possesses two copies of the French translation of the *Notes*; one of these, in the Byrd collection, contains the short errata list, the other, in the McGregor collection, the long one. An interesting feature of the Byrd copy is that a large number of manuscript corrections in ink and in an eighteenth-century hand are to be found in its text.²⁴ None of the corrections in the short errata list appears

(end of query viii); 251, line 16, to 265, line 4; 298; line 8, to 301 (end of query xviii), and 130, line 27, to 133, line 4, of the original. The last section deals with the Albinoes.

23. Final gathering of the book is signed Bb and is a half-sheet octavo. The short form of the errata list occurs on signature Bb4 and was printed as an integral part of the book since it is physically conjugate with leaf Bbr.

The longer form consists of a 2-leaf fold. Leaf Bb4, the original list, was cancelled, and to the stub of Bb1 was pasted this cancellans fold containing the longer form. The longer version, therefore, is a later addition, made after the original printing had been concluded and presumably after publication.

24. In addition to these corrections, there are in the Byrd copy six more manuscript notations in ink and in two different hand-

among the notations in ink which are to be seen in this copy. An examination of these manuscript corrections and the long errata list shows, on the other hand, that all passages corrected in that list—and eleven others not to be found there—have also been corrected in the Byrd copy. Except in three cases, the French word or phrase written in ink in the text as a correction of an error of translation is the same as the one given at the corresponding place in the long errata list.

On the basis of the information which we have used up to this point, if it were not for the bibliographical evidence of the cancellation made in the final gathering in order to substitute the longer form, one might conclude that the long errata list was printed first, the shorter one later to supplement it.²⁵ As for the notations in ink, we might argue that they were written into the Byrd copy by some contemporary who had access to the long list. The presence of corrections in ink not to be found in the long list might be explained as the result of a very careful examination of the original and the translation, although it would be difficult to explain why none of the errata indicated in the short list are corrected in the notations in ink.

There exists, however, a little known document which throws a vivid light on the history of the errata lists and the manuscript notations in the Byrd copy, and which illuminates the bibliographical evidence. In the Jefferson Papers at the Library of Congress, is to be found a seven-page letter press copy of a memorandum written in Jefferson's hand, which is

writings. On the title page next to the letters M. J. someone wrote: "Jefferson," and under "Traduites de L'Anglois," the words "Par. M. l'abbé Morellet de L'Academie Françoise." In the translation, one finds in the same hand in the margin on page 21, "*barre du Po(bour)*," the French equivalent of the place name *Fishers-Bar* in the text, and again in the margin on page 315 at the end of the chapter on religion: "La tolerance a été assur(ée) mais seulement pour les sec(tes) chretiennes." Letters in pointed brackets were clipped off when the

pages were trimmed by the binder. In a different and later hand, someone wrote the name "La Fontaine" on the title-page, and on the back of the false title the following bibliographical note: "Pour le nom de l'auteur et celui du traducteur, voir Dict. de Barbier, N° 12996."

25. The opinion that the long form was printed first and the short one later was expressed by John C. Wyllie in the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, xxxv (1941), 71. Mr. Wyllie now acknowledges his error.

dated January 19, 1787, and entitled "Errors in the Abbé Morellet's translation of the Notes on Virginia the correction of which is indispensable."²⁶

In this memorandum, the English passages containing typographical errors, or words or phrases the translation of which Jefferson questioned, and the corresponding passage of the French text are presented in parallel columns. The English word or phrase which he considered wrongly translated and its French equivalent are in many cases underlined. A comparison of the contents of this document with those of the two errata lists provides an interesting revelation. Whereas none of the six errata in the short list is to be found in the memorandum, every one of the forty-five in the long list is included among the seventy errors which Jefferson recorded. It is clear that his memorandum was prepared after the short errata list had been printed. It would be indeed difficult to explain how Jefferson would have failed to notice and write down any of the errata indicated in it, if his list had been intended to supplement it. The fact that the person who prepared the long errata list did not find anything to correct which is not also found in Jefferson's memorandum points to an interesting conclusion.

Since a comparison of the original and the translation of the *Notes* shows many errors which Jefferson did not record, it seems impossible that the translator could have failed to discover at least a few misprints or evident errors of translation not listed in the memorandum, if he had made even a half-hearted attempt at preparing as accurate as possible an errata list. One is forced to conclude that whoever prepared the second errata list had at his disposal the original of Jefferson's memorandum and relied exclusively on it. The absence from that list of twenty-five corrections requested by the author in his memorandum does not invalidate that conclusion. In some instances, Morellet may have been convinced that his translation was

26. Jefferson Papers. Library of Congress. Volume 27, Folios 4717-4723. The date, written in a different ink, is crowded in at the top and is not certainly in Jefferson's hand.

correct. In others, he may have considered the error not important enough to warrant a correction, or he may have been unable to find an adequate substitute for what he had originally written. Moreover, he would naturally be inclined to shorten as much as possible a long list of errata which could only raise doubts as to the value of his translation. Finally, he may have failed to make all suggested corrections through sheer carelessness or indifference. In this connection, it should be pointed out that, when preparing the first errata list—the short one—he did not read proof much beyond page 99, since the last erratum which he recorded occurs on that page.²⁷ It can be taken for granted that, if it had not been for Jefferson, no other list would have ever appeared. One should not fail to add, however, that if Jefferson was most unfortunate in having Morellet as a translator, Morellet was equally unfortunate in choosing to translate the *Notes on Virginia*. It was not customary for authors to be in a position to exercise such close supervision over their translators.

There is still another interesting problem connected with the long errata list. Of the fifty-six manuscript notations in the Byrd copy, all without a single exception are corrections requested by Jefferson in his memorandum, and, as already stated, only in three cases does the wording of these notations vary from that of the corresponding entry in the long errata list. It is again clear that the writer of these notations had access to Jefferson's list. Morellet's name comes at once to one's mind as the probable writer of the manuscript notations. Unfortunately, we have no means of tracing the history of the Byrd copy. Moreover, with the exception of three notations, the longest of which is three lines, the corrections written on the various pages all consist of three or four words at the most. Their briefness makes it impossible for one who is not an expert

27. In his memorandum, Jefferson lists three errors on page 103, one on page 104, two on page 106, one on page 113, etc. The fact that

none of these appears in the short errata form should constitute ample evidence that checking was not carried much beyond page 99.

in handwriting to draw any valid conclusion from a comparison of the hand in which they are written and that of the Morellet letters in the Jefferson Papers. Yet, to me, they present a number of common characteristics. But whether the corrections in the Byrd copy were written by Morellet or someone else, there can be no doubt that whoever wrote them had access to Jefferson's list.

Because of the interest of this list and its inaccessibility to the average student, it is printed here in full. Peculiarities of spelling and punctuation found in the letter press copy have been retained, with the exception, however, of Jefferson's spelling of the French preposition *à* as *á*, which has been changed.²⁸

*Errors in the Abbé Morellet's translation of the Notes on Virginia
the correction of which is indispensable*

pa. 2. 36° 30'

145. in the same season of 1780, Chesapeak bay was solid from it's head to the mouth of Patowmac. At Annapolis where it is 5 1/4 miles over between the nearest points of land, the ice was from 5. to 7. inches thick quite across, &c

150. I knew an instance at York-town, from whence the water-prospect eastwardly is without termination, wherein a canoe with three men, at a great distance, was taken for a ship with it's three masts.

2. 36° 3'²⁹

13. Dans la même année 1780, la Chesapeak gela entièrement depuis son extrémité intérieure jusqu'à l'embouchure du Patowmac. A Annapolis, située 5 1/5 milles au-dessus, entre les deux pointes avancées de terre,³⁰ la glace fut épaisse de 5 à 7 pouces, &c

20. Je connois une situation³¹ à Yorktown, d'où la vue de la mer vers l'Est n'est point bornée, & d'où un canot conduit par trois hommes vu à une grande distance, paroît³² un vaisseau à trois mats.

28. Jefferson's punctuation and spelling in the memorandum are much more informal than the spelling and punctuation found in his book and Morellet's translation.

errata list to read "où sa largeur est de 5 1/5 milles entre les deux pointes avancées de terre."

29. Not changed either in manuscript notations in Byrd copy or in errata list.

31. Not changed either in manuscript notations or in errata list.

30. Changed in manuscript notations and in

32. Changed to *paroît quelques fois* in manuscript notations and to *paroît quelquefois* in errata list.

5. those of 125. go to Rocket's a mile below Richmond. 22. ceux de 125. jusqu'a Rockett's un mille *au-dessus*³³ de Richmond.
7. York river, at York-town, affords the best harbour in *the state* for vessels of the largest size. 23. La riviere d'York, à York town,³⁴ fournit le meilleur bassin que puissent trouver dans *tous les etats unis*³⁵ les plus grands.
- [the river there narrows to the width of a mile, & is contained within very high banks, close under which the vessels may ride.] [La riviere se retrecit en cet endroit, & n'a gueres qu'un mille de largeur: ses bords sont assez elevés pour que les vaisseaux puissent s'y mouiller.]³⁶
- [and *up* Mattaponi to within 2. miles of Frazer's *ferry*, where it becomes 2 1/2 fathom deep, & holds that about 5. miles.] [24. *au-dessus* de Mattapony, jusqu'à 2 milles endeça du *lac* de Fraser, elle n'a plus que 2 1/2 brasses de profondeur, qu'elle garde pendant environ 5. milles.]³⁷
8. it is however used in a small degree *up* the Cohongoronta branch as far as fort Cumberland. 24. elle est cependant un peu pratiquée *au-dessus*³⁸ de la branche du Cohongoronta, en remontant jusqu'à l'endroit où étoit situé le fort Cumberland.
10. its passage is commanded by a fort established by this state, 5 miles below the mouth of Ohio. 27. cinq milles *au-dessus*³⁹ de l'embouchure de l'Ohio &c

33. Changed in manuscript notations, but not in errata list.

34. *York-Town* in Morellet's text. Indications on the letter press copy show that contact was not made between paper and press with the result that *-Town* was not reproduced.

35. Changed in manuscript notations, but not in errata list.

36. The English text of this passage and its French translation were crossed out by Jefferson, who, on second thought, must have felt

that the translation, although not literal, did not do violence to the original.

37. The English text and its French translation were crossed out by Jefferson. It is difficult to understand why he did so, unless he felt that *lac*, a misprint for *bac*, English *ferry*, would be obvious to the reader.

38. *Au-dessus de* was changed to *au-dessus sur*. Occurs at top of page 25.

39. Changed to *au-dessous* both in manuscript notations and errata list.

11. unless we suppose that the cold increases again with the ascent of the land from the *Missisipi* westwardly.

22. the Western fork is navigable in the winter 10. or 15. miles towards the northern of the Little Kanbaway.

29. the ridges of mountains *Eastward* of the Alleghaney.

32. the mountains of the Blue Ridge, *of these the Peaks of Otter*, are thought to be of a greater height, &c

40. it is from 16. to 22 feet wide, 111 feet deep &c

its breadth (i.e. the breadth of the fissure) at top is not sensibly greater than at bottom.

40. Changed to *situées au-delà du Mississippi* in manuscript notations and errata list.

41. Changed to *de la branche nord du petit Kanbaway* in manuscript notations and errata list.

42. The brackets were inserted in manuscript notations and errata list.

43. This passage was crossed out by Jefferson.

44. Changed to read *à l'est* in manuscript notations and errata list.

28. à moins qu'on ne suppose que le froid est plus grand à raison de la plus grande elevation des terres qu'arrose le *Missisipi*⁴⁰ au couchant.

40. la branche de l'Ouest, appellée Western fork, est navigable en hyver jusqu'a 10. ou 15 milles du petit Kanbaway, en tirant vers le nord.⁴¹

46. [outre ces trois &c—et perfectionnées] the [] are omitted, which should shew that this passage belongs to Mr Thomson.⁴²

[48. et en general à celles dont la reunion vient former ce que j'appelle proprement les Apalaches.]⁴³

48. les chaines des montagnes qui sont au Nord-est⁴⁴ des Alleganeys.

49. les montagnes Bleues, et celle⁴⁵ du Pic d'Otter, sont regardées comme les plus hautes &c

58. l'ouverture a de 16. à 22. pieds anglois de large, 3. pieds de haut &c⁴⁶

la largeur de l'arche⁴⁷ n'est pas sensiblement plus grande en haut qu'en bas.

45. Changed to read *de parmi elles celle du Pic d'Otter* in manuscript notations but not in errata list.

46. Changed in manuscript notations and errata list.

47. "La largeur de l'arche" changed to *sa largeur* in manuscript notations and errata list.

42. this break has the advantage of the one described by Don Ulloa in it's finest circumstance: no portion in that instance having held together during the separation of the other parts, so as to form a bridge over the abyss.

33. it falls over a rock 200 feet into the valley below.

[37. in the ridge which divides the water of the Cow & the Calf pasture.]

43. a canal of about half a mile.

48. a white as pure as one might expect to find on the surface of the earth.

57. it rains here four or five days in every week.

Warm spring

Hot spring

48. Not changed either in manuscript notations or in errata list.

49. *Sur* crossed out in manuscript notations; left unchanged in errata list.

50. The English passage and its French translation were crossed out by Jefferson.

51. Changed in manuscript notations but not in errata list.

52. Changed to read *aussi blanc qu'il soit possible d'en trouver à la surface de la terre* in manuscript notations and in errata list.

59. la scission présente aussi chez nous la circonstance la plus singulière dont parle Don Ulloa; car elle est absolue et entière entre les deux parties opposées qui ne se tiennent que par un pont jeté sur cet abîme.⁴⁸

60. elle tombe sur des roches d'environ 200 pieds de haut.⁴⁹

[63. dans la chaîne des montagnes qui partagent les eaux des prairies, appelé Cow-pasture de celle qu'on appelle Calf pasture.]⁵⁰

66. un canal d'environ un mille de long.⁵¹

71. aussi blanc qu'il soit possible d'en trouver en aucun lieu de la terre.⁵²

79. il pleut trois ou quatre fois la semaine.⁵³

Source chaude Source tiede
Source brulante Source chaudes⁵⁴

53. Changed in manuscript notations, but not in errata list.

54. Changed in manuscript notations, but not in errata list. The writer of the manuscript notations seems to have pondered considerably over the translation of these words. He first changed *Source chaude* and *Source brulante* to *Source tiede* and *Source chaudes*, then wrote crossed out *tiede* and *chaude*. He began to write *bouillante*, but did not get farther than *box*. Not changed in errata list.

60. the flame of which is a column of about 12. *inches diam.* 82. ou la flamme a d'environ⁵⁵ 12.
pieds⁵⁶ de diametre.

56. bushel 83. boisseau. id. 77. 325.⁵⁷

60. near the intersection of the *Ld Fairfax's boundary* with the North mountain. près de l'endroit ou la limite du comté de Fairfax⁵⁸ coupe les montagnes du Nord.

68. the following were found in Virginia &c most probably they were natives of more southern climates &c viz Nicotiana &c entre le Liquidambar et Nicotiana. pa. 90.⁵⁹

73. the hippotamus had no tusks, nor such a frame

that it was not an elephant I think ascertained by proofs especially decisive

pa. 73. as M. de Buffon has admitted

75. of which however the globe exhibits no unequivocal indications.

55. Jefferson evidently wanted to write *a environ*, and not *a d'environ*, which is incorrect.

56. Changed to *pouces* in manuscript notations and in errata list.

57. Not changed either in manuscript notations or in errata list.

58. Changed to *territoire du lord Fairfax* in manuscript notations and in errata list.

59. Wrote at the bottom of the page: "les vegetaux suivans qui se trouvent en Virginie y ont été probablement apportés de climats situés plus au sud." This passage occurs in the English original, but had been overlooked by Morellet. Its translation is not to be found in the errata list.

103. n'a pas les dents ainsi configurées⁶⁰

Je ne puis donner une preuve tout aussi décisive, que l'animal &c n'est pas un elephant.⁶¹

103. tel que le decrit M. de Buffon.⁶²

104. quoiqu'elles presentent encore des signes certains de la presence de ces feux souterrains.⁶³

60. In the manuscript notations the words "les dents ainsi configurées" are replaced by "de defenses ni la même structure"; in the errata list, the correction reads: "qui n'a point les dents ainsi configurées, lisez qui n'est point de la même structure, qui n'a point de défenses, &c."

61. The negative *ne* was dropped both in the manuscript notations and in the errata list.

62. Changed to *comme en convient* M. de Buffon in manuscript notation and errata list.

63. The phrase "quoiqu'elles presentent encore des signes certains." was changed to "quoiqu'elles présentent aucun signe certains" in manuscript notations, and to "quoiqu'elles ne présentent aucun signe certains" in errata list.

76. and it is as probable *as otherwise*
that this progression continues &c
the center of the frozen zone then
may be the achmé of their vigour

83. such subjects as came *casually* to
their hands.

91. *if he be* a carnivorous animal

95. it's gate a trot, & attended with
a rattling of the hoofs

but distinguished from that [*the flat horned elk*] decisively by it's
horns which are not palmated, but
round & pointed.

and in fact it seems to stand in the
same relation to the palmated elk,
as the red deer does to the fallow.⁷⁰

96. should this last, tho' possessing
so nearly the characters of the elk be
found to be the same with the cerf
d'Ardennes.

64. Changed to *on peut croire* in manuscript
notations and in errata list.

65. Changed to *peut donc être* in manuscript
notations and in errata list. *Dont* in Jefferson's
memorandum should read *donc*.

66. Not changed either in manuscript notations
or in errata list.

67. Changed to read *si cet animal étoit carnivore*
in manuscript corrections, but not in errata
list.

68. Not changed either in manuscript notations
or in errata list.

106. il est probable⁶⁴ que cette pro-
gression se soutient &c

le centre de la zone glaciaile *est*
dont le lieu ou le Mammout arrive à
toute sa force.⁶⁵

113. sujets qu'on peut regarder
comme de la grosseur moyenne, puis-
que ce sont ceux qui tombent com-
munément sous la main de l'Anato-
miste.⁶⁶

122. *cet animal etoit carnivore*⁶⁷

126. son allure est le trot, & il se
coupe en marchant.⁶⁸

nettement distingué *du cerf* par le
caractere de ses cornes, qui ne sont
pas palmées, mais rondes et poin-
tues.⁶⁹

128. quand on trouveroit dans ce
dernier assez de caracteres de l'elan
pour le confondre avec le cerf des
Ardennes⁷¹

69. The words *the flat horned elk* are translated
as *l'elan à bois palmé* in manuscript notations;
no correction in errata list.

70. Jefferson may have felt that Moreller's
translation of this passage on page 126 of the
French text was not close enough to the origi-
nal. The French context reads: "C'est-là
l'animal decrit par Catesby, comme le *cerus*
major americanus, le *stag*, le *cerf de l'Amrique*,
& qui diffère cependant du cerf autant que
l'elan à bois palmé diffère du daim."

71. Changed in manuscript notations to read
*quoiqu' ayant tant de caracteres de l'elan, de quoi le
confondre . . .*" Not changed in errata list.

pa. 99. have imported good *breeders*
from England 131. qui ayant eu d'Angleterre de
 bons *nourrisseurs*⁷² de bestiaux

100. & could it be supposed that I had
seen the largest horses in America
bullocks have been slaughtered
which weighed 2500

132. et je crois avoir vu les plus
grands⁷³ jeunes boeufs qui pesoient 2500⁷⁴

101. the 50th generation
where care had been taken of them
on that side of the water, they have
been raised to a size bordering on
that of the horse.

133. la 16^{me} generation⁷⁵
lors[qu'au contraire]⁷⁶ nous en
avons pris, il a atteint chez nous
presqu'à la taille d'un cheval⁷⁷

103. as 100 to 126.

135. comme 100 à 26.⁷⁸
142. le] après le mot 'froideur' est
omis.⁷⁹
148. le] après le mot 'prisonniers'
est omis.⁸⁰
160. ces faits sont suffisants pour
montrer que les Americains aborigènes
ont des formes de gouvernement.⁸¹

72. Changed to *des bonnes femelles* in manuscript notations and to *des bonnes nourrices* in errata list.

73. Changed to *si je puis croire avoir vu* in manuscript notations, but not in errata list.

74. Changed to *boeufs* in manuscript notations and errata list.

75. Changed in manuscript notations and in errata list.

76. *qu'au contraire* is blurred and illegible.

77. Changed to *lorsqu'on en a pris soin en Europe* in manuscript notations and in errata list. Jefferson forgot to copy the word *soin*.

78. Changed in manuscript notations and in errata list.

79. The bracket was added in manuscript notations, but not in errata list.

80. The bracket was added in manuscript notations, but not in errata list.

81. In the manuscript notation has been changed to read: "Ces faits sont suffisants pour montrer que si les Américains aborigènes n'ont point des formes de gouvernement, ils connaissent la sociabilité politique . . ." in errata list: "que si les Américains aborigènes n'ont point de gouvernement, ils connaissent une sorte de sociabilité politique . . ."

180. In going from Norway to Iceland, from Iceland to Groenland, from Groenland to Labrador, the *first traject is the widest*; and this having been practised from the earliest times of which we have any account of that part of the earth, it is not difficult to suppose that the subsequent trajects may have been sometimes passed.

pa. 167. 5000

3 to 10

167. le trajet de Norwege en Islande, de l'Islande au Groenland, de Groenland au Labrador, est le plus long; et comme nous le voyons pratiqué des les premiers tems auxquels nous avons eu connoissance de cette partie de la terre, nous pouvons bien supposer qu'on aura pu faire des trajets encore plus courts.⁸²

131. they are of a pallid, cadaverous white—their hair of the same kind of white, short, coarse & curled as is that of the negro.

131. they are uncommonly shrewd

207. the colony supposed that by this solemn convention &c they had received the antient limits of their country [art. 4.] it's free trade [7.] it's *exemption from taxation but by*

170. 5000 milles⁸³

3. à 18⁸⁴

171. [la carte] Ouest pour Est. et contra.⁸⁵

188. les écritures &c.—qu'ils la faisoient. les [] manquent.⁸⁶

215. ils sont d'un blanc cadavereux,—leurs cheveux sont de la même espece que ceux des blancs,⁸⁷ mais courts, durs & frisés comme ceux des negres

216. elles sont très mechantes⁸⁸

244. les habitans de la colonie ont toujours supposé que par cette convention solennelle [sic] &c ils avoient assuré les anciennes limites de leur pays selon l'article 4. la

82. In the manuscript notations the text is changed to read: "En passant de Norwege en Islande, de l'Islande au Groenland, du Groenland au Labrador, le 1^{er} trajet est le plus long;" the errata reads: "après le mot *Labrador*; laissez le premier trajet est le plus long."

83. Changed in manuscript notations and in errata list.

84. Changed in manuscript notations and in errata list.

85. Corrections requested by Jefferson were made in errata list, in manuscript notations, the correction was made on the chart, but not on the page facing it.

86. The brackets were added in the manuscript notations, but not in the errata list.

87. Changed to *de la même espece de blanc* in manuscript notations and in errata list.

88. Not changed either in manuscript notations or in errata list.

their own assembly [8.] and exclusion of military force from among them [8]

235. they are nominated by *their fellows*

236. is less dangerous &c than one which makes part of a regular & uniform system

238. there are three *superior courts*. twice for business civil *&c* criminal, & twice more for criminal *only*

248. rules &c which it was not in his power, or in that of the crown to dispense with. [—the passage]⁹⁴ were set aside

249. the *Surveyor* of the county

the Surveyor *lays it off* for him

89. Changed in manuscript notation but not in errata list.

90. Changed to *confreres* in manuscript notations and in errata list.

91. Not changed in manuscript notation or in errata list.

92. Not changed in manuscript notations or in errata list.

93. Changed to *deux fois pour les affaires civiles & criminelles, & deux fois pour les affaires criminelles seulement*. This correction is found in the manuscript notations and the errata list.

liberté de leur commerce, selon l'article 7. et par ce même article l'exemption de tout établissement d'une force militaire étrangère chez eux.⁸⁹

272. ils sont nommés par leurs *con-citoyens*⁹⁰

273. est moins dangereuse &c qu'un jugement porté par le magistrat ordinaire, qui devient plus aisement partie du système uniforme & régulier de la législation⁹¹

275. il y a trois cours⁹²
deux fois pour les affaires civiles,
et deux fois pour les affaires criminelles.⁹³

283. loix &c, quoiqu'ils n'en eussent pas le pouvoir et que la couronne ne put pas le leur donner.⁹⁵
étoient délivrés apart⁹⁶

284. l'*Inspecteur* du Comté [l'*arpenteur*]⁹⁷

l'*Inspecteur* lui en montre la carte [l'*arpenteur*]⁹⁸

94. A word coming before *the passage* is blurred and illegible.

95. Changed to *loix &c, dont il n'étoit pas en leur pouvoir ni dans celui de la couronne de s'écartier*. The correction was made in the manuscript notations and in the errata list.

96. Changed to *annullies* in manuscript notations and in errata list.

97. Changed to *l'arpenteur* in manuscript notation and in errata list.

98. The correction was not made either in manuscript notations or in errata list.

245. void as to the creditors & subsequent purchasers.
250. the oldest statutes extant
251. to establish *religious* freedom on the broadest bottom
278. the antient languages¹⁰² literature of the North.
288. they shewed equal intolerance in this country with their Presbyterian brethren who [had] emigrated to the Northern government.¹⁰³
314. from 300. to 450 thousand
316. being merely a matter of charity
- nullité, relativement aux créanciers *de l'acheteur*⁹⁹ et aux acheteurs subsequens qui la tiendroient du premier.
290. des plus anciens statuts *de l'état de Virginie*¹⁰⁰
291. d'établir la tolerance *civile*¹⁰¹ sur la base la plus étendue
304. des langues et de la littérature¹⁰³ du Nord *de notre continent*¹⁰⁴
305. ils se montrerent aussi intolérants qu'en Europe *envers leurs frères les Presbytériens*,¹⁰⁶ qui s'établirent dans les gouvernemens du Nord.
335. quatre à cinq cent mille¹⁰⁷
337. étant absolument *volontaire* & une acte de charité¹⁰⁸

99. Changed to *du vendeur* in manuscript notations and in errata list.

100. Changed to *des plus anciens statuts existans* in manuscript notations and in errata list.

101. Not changed either in manuscript notations or in errata list.

102. The "&" is missing in the manuscript.

103. Jefferson forgot one of the "t's" in the French word *littérature*.

104. Changed to *de l'Europe* in manuscript notations and in errata list.

105. The word *had* is blurred and almost illegible.

106. The words *aussi intolérants qu'en Europe envers leurs frères* have been replaced by *aussi intolérants que leurs frères* in manuscript notations and in errata list.

107. Changed in manuscript notations and in errata list.

108. Changed in manuscript notations and in errata list. The last four words should read: "*un acte de charité*." Jefferson prefixed the wrong article to *acte*.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

Some Correspondence with
Thomas Jefferson Concerning
the Public Printers

Transcribed, with a Foreword, by
JESSIE RYON LUCKE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA



Some Correspondence with Thomas Jefferson Concerning the Public Printers

THE DEARTH OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE early public printers of the United States has been commented on often enough; and, were it not for the pioneer listing of Greely,¹ the historian and the bibliographer alike would be lost in the morass of miscellaneous official and semi-official leaves and pamphlets which poured from the American presses during the first fourteen Congresses.

Since the following heretofore unpublished letters shed considerable light on the printing practices of the first days of the Republic, they are transcribed in full. They have not been burdened with notes concerning the writers, since such information is readily available in standard reference works.² They comprise the earliest group of a collection of letters in the Executive and Foreign Affairs section of the National Archives, entitled "Laws of the United States and Related Papers 1789-1923," and are contained in a portfolio of letters to the Secretaries of State, concerning the printing of laws, 1789-1822. In

1. A. W. Greely, *Public Documents of the First Fourteen Congresses*, Washington, 1900.

History of Printing in America, Albany, N. Y., 1874; Charles Evans, *American Bibliography*, Chicago, 1903-34; and, for such well known figures as Benjamin Franklin Bache, John Bradford, and William Bingham, *The Dictionary of American Biography*, N. Y., 1928-37.

2. Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*. Worcester, Mass., 1947; Isaiah Thomas, *The*

addition to fourteen letters to Jefferson, eleven of which are from printers, presented here are a letter from the printing establishment of Childs and Swaine to Remsen, chief clerk at the State Department for two years under Jefferson, and a document, signed by Jefferson, to the Department of State, which confers his official approval on an edition of the "Laws of the United States of America," printed by Andrew Brown in Philadelphia, 1792. The remaining three letters to Jefferson recommend printers; one, from Jabez Bowen, recommends Bennett Wheeler; another, from William Bingham, recommends Andrew Brown; and the third, from David Sewall, recommends Benjamin Titcomb, Jr. One other unpublished Jefferson letter from the Library of Congress collection is printed in a footnote, because it supplements the correspondence with Benjamin Russell.

This group is of special interest because of the information contained therein concerning printing prices current, and the indication, evinced by the letters of application and the letters "recommendatory," that much competition was called forth by the prestige accruing to those printers who were fortunate enough to obtain the coveted privilege of printing the federal laws. David Sewall's effort to get some political patronage for the State of Maine is also worthy of note.

Boston, June 12, 1790.

Sir,

The Hon. Mesrs Goodhue and Ames have informed me of my appointment to publish the Laws, &c. of the United States for the Eastern States. As I have not, as yet, received any information thereof, or my duty, (from) your Excellency's office; I have to request that I may be furnished with such direction as may be necessary to the right discharge of my duty. With emotions of gratitude, and respect, I am, your Excellency's most obedient

most humble servant,

Benj. Russell

His Excellency M^r Jefferson.

Philad^a August 15th 1790

Dear Sir

I could not resist the Solicitations of M^r Brown, to furnish him with a Letter to you expressive of the Circumstances on which he founds his Pretensions to your Patronage of his Views,—which are to procure the Preference in printing the Laws of the United States—

M^r Brown has served during the War, & I am informed had considerable Merit in the discharge of his Duty as an officer—As a Printer, he is very industrious & correct, & has supported a daily Paper with considerable Reputation—

Permit me to embrace this opportunity of joining M^{rs} Bingham's Complements with mine, & of assuring you that I am with unfeigned Respect

Sir Your obed^t hble serv^t

W^m Bingham

[On the back: 'Bingham W^m 15 Aug^t 1790 | rec^d Aug. 26' in Jefferson's hand except for '15 Aug^t 1790'.]

Honoured Sir,

When the removal of Congress to this City was determined, I understood that Mess^{rs} Childs & Swaine intended³ setting up a press here. I have since heard that they have no thoughts of moving. Perhaps you may have not yet fixed upon a person to do the printing of the laws here; in this case permit me to offer myself.—I am just setting out in the printing business with an extensive assortment of materials & would endeavour to merit your approbation should you think proper to employ:

Dear Sir,

Your most obed^t
& most hble Servant

Benjⁿ Franklin Bache

Hon Th. Jefferson Esq^r

['Bache Benj. Fr. 20 Aug^t 1790 | rec^d Aug. 21.' on the back is in Jefferson's hand, except for '20 Aug^t 1790'.]

3. 'Intending' has been changed to 'intended'.

Providence, August 26, 1790.

Sir,

Having received Information, that the Laws of the United States are published in the Newspapers of *some* of the States by your Order, at the Expence of Government—and that it was in Contemplation to have it done in *each* State,—I would by Leave, in Case of such a Determination, to offer the United States Chronicle for that Purpose, upon the same Terms as are allowed to others.—Our Paper has the most extensive Circulation of any in the State, and no Attention of mine shall be wanting, to have the Work well done.—The Obligation conferred on me, in Case our Paper is made Use of, will be gratefully acknowledged; by, Sir, y^r obt^r

and very hm^l sev^r

Bennett Wheeler

Hon. T. Jefferson, Es.
Sec^rty of State.

[On the back, in Jefferson's hand: 'Wheeler Bennett. | recd Sep. 26.' An unknown hand adds '26 Aug^t 1790' below.]

Providence. Sep^r 3 1790

Sir

Under an Idea that the Laws of the United States will be published in one of the Newspapers of each State, M^r Bennett Wheeler the Printer of the United States Chronicle, has applied for Letters Recommendatory in his favour that he may be employed in the Business

As his Paper has as large a Circulation, as [*sic*] is as Correctly Printed as any one in the State I could wish M^r Wheeler might have the Business; if 'tis not pre engaged.

I Remain with the highest
Esteeme Sir Your Most Obedien[t]
Humble Servant

Jabez Bowen

Thomas Jefferson Esq^r Secry of State

[At head of page 2: 'Bowen Jaber [*sic*] 1790 | recd Sep. 26.' in Jefferson's hand except for '1790'.]

Baltimore, Sept. 11, 1790

Sir,

As the Charge of publishing the Acts of Congress, & the Proclamations of the Executive of the General Government, is committed to the Secretary of State, I take the Liberty of making an offer of the Maryland Journal, & Baltimore Advertiser, as a very useful Vehicle for the Promulgation of such Matters, it having an uncommonly extensive Circulation, in various States of the Union, especially in Virginia, Pennsylvania, & Maryland. —Under a Persuasion that, in executing the Duties of your high office, you are actuated by Zeal⁴ for the Interest of the Public, I have only to add, that if I shall have the Honour to be employed as a Printer, in the Service of your Department, the Trust shall be performed with Fidelity, and that my Charges shall be very moderate.

I am, with Sentiments of profound Respect
for your public & private Character, Sir,

Your most obed^t Serv^t

William Goddard

Hon. Tho: Jefferson, Esq:

[Goddard W^m Septem^r 11, 1790. | rec^d Sep. 26.' on the back in Jefferson's hand, except for 'Septem^r 11, 1790'.]

Providence, Sept. 24, 1790.

Sir,

I have to acknowledge the Receipt of a Letter from M^r Remsen, written by Direction of your Excellency.—My grateful Thanks are due for this Mark of Attention, as well as for your Excellency's favourable Notice of my Name, in a late Letter to my worthy Friend M^r Howell:

Agreeably to Order, the Providence Gazette shall with great Pleasure be forwarded by Post, so long as the Publication thereof may go on: But labouring as I long have done under many Discouragements, particularly in the Countenance afforded and continued to an antifederal Competitor (who obtruded himself with a printing Apparatus sold by me, *under an express Stipulation that it should never be used here*) I have in Contemplation to relinquish my typographical Concern, and adopt, if within the Compass of my Power, some other Line of Business, more adequate to the Support of a

4. Before this word, at the beginning of a line, a single letter, probably an "a", is crossed out.

numerous Family. After a long printing Career, I shall reluctantly surrender to my said Competitor the Remains of a small Business, established with much Toil, Care and Expence; but should the Measure eventually take Place, your Excellency will be enabled to account for my Paper not arriving at your Office.

With the highest Consideration for your Excellency's Character and literary Attainments, and zealous Attachment to the Government in which you hold so distinguished a Station, I have the Honour to be, very respectfully, your Excellency's obedient and devoted Servant,

J^on Carter.

His Excellency Thomas Jefferson, Esq^r

[On back, in an unknown hand: 'Carter John | recd Novem^r 2^d | 1790'; in Jefferson's hand: 'Carter John recd Nov. 2.']

Sir,

Agreeably to the request contained in M^r Remsen's letter of yesterday, I beg leave to inform you that should I be continued the publisher of the laws of the United States,⁵ I shall perform that duty, with accuracy and expedition, at the rate of one dollar for what is equal to one page of the edition of the laws printed by Childs & Swaine.

This is considerably under what I have hitherto had from the State of Pennsylvania, and much less than my fixed price for advertising.

I beg leave just to add that should the printer of any other reputable paper propose to undertake the business for a less sum I shall most cheerfully lower my price accordingly.

I have the honor to be,
Sir, your obedient
humble servant

And^v Brown

Philadelphia
26 Nov^r 1790.

5. On the 5th of February, 1791, Jefferson presented an official report to the House of Representatives, setting forth a contemplated authoritative edition of the "Laws, Treaties, and Resolutions of the United States." The

MS of this report is in the Library of Congress; it was printed in full in *American State Papers*, "Miscellaneous," I, 37. Jefferson's certificate of 25 July 1792, post, also refers to this job.

Boston, Dec. 5, 1790.

Sir,

In compliance with your request communicated by M^r Remsen, that I would furnish you with an estimate of the expense that will attend the publication of the laws of the United States in my paper; and the lowest price for which I will perform the work; I beg permission to inform your Honour, that the Laws of the second session inserted by your order amount to Three Hundred and Seventy-two *Squares of Long-Primer. These at *half a dollar* a square, amount to One Hundred and Eighty-six dollars. The price paid for publishing the Laws of this Commonwealth, in Long-Primer squares, has been reduced, on account of the competition of the Printers for the Printing work of government, which in some of its branches, is lucrative, from One Dollar to Half a Dollar—The price, therefore, that I have inserted, is regulated by the price given by this State—Your Honour's information will enable you to judge whether it is too high or not high enough.

With me, Sir, compensation is (not the) first object, in the publication of the La(ws) of the United States; and while I earnestly solicit the continuation of your patronage; I shall rest satisfied, should I be so fortunate as to obtain it, with such allowance as you shall think just to make.

I have empowered Captain Patrick Phelen, an officer of the customs of the United States, to receive, on my behalf, such sum as shall be allowed for my services.

I am, Sir, with great respect
your most obedient, humble
servant,

Benj. Russell

*The square, in Typographical language, is 20 lines of Long-Primer matter—the lines being 20 ms long—and in that proportion of shorter or longer lines, larger or smaller types. Inclosed is a square of matter of the Centinel—the lines being but 18 ms long, it takes almost 23 lines to make a square.

Hon. Thomas Jefferson, Esq.

Philadelphia Dec^r 16th 1790

Sir

In answer to your letter of the 23^d ult. requesting that we would inform the Secretary of State the expence that will attend the publication of the Acts of the United States in our paper,—we would observe, that we shall be

perfectly satisfied with such compensation as the Secretary of State shall deem reasonable. If, however, it is necessary to mention a price, we are willing to receive payment either by the session, or by the printed page of the Acts—If paid by the page, we ask one dollar; if by the session one hundred dollars.

We are, Sir,
Your most obt Serv^ts

Childs & Swaine

Henry Remsem Esq^r

Lexington Jan^y 12th 1791

Sir

I am requested by M^r Remsen to furnish one copy of the Kentucky news papers for the use of the office of the Secretary of State of the U. S. to commence the first day of Oct^r last, and to be sent under cover by post to Philad^a to said Office. As M^r Remsen's letter did not come to hand until the 20th of Dec^r could not procure papers farther back than Nov^r 27. There is no direct communication between this place and Philadelphia by post, but will send them by every Opportunity.

Your mo^r Ob^t
[Hble] Serv^t

John Bradford

[From the Printer at Kentucky | received February 28, 1791 in an unknown hand on the back.]⁶

Sir

The late application of M^r Brown to Congress which has been referred to you, induces us respectfully to state, that sometime in December last, we commenced the publication of a new or second edition of the Acts of Congress passed at the first session; that this publication is nearly completed, and that another, smaller edition, is considerably advanced upon; that it is our inten-

6. Another notation on the back reads 'Staunton | Forw^t by P. Hieskelle'. Two other letters in the Bradford-Jefferson correspondence are known, both in the Library of

Congress, both unpublished, but since they concern a gift of rock salt, they are not transcribed here.

tion to publish like editions of the Acts, Treaties, &c. of the second session, and so to continue for the present and all future sessions like publications as they shall become necessary:—From whence we beg leave to submit, how far the result of any decision on M^r Brown's case may include ours, or others similar thereto, or establish any particular or exclusive indulgence in his favor—Being with every sentiment of the most perfect regard and esteem,

Sir,
Your most obed^t
and very hble serv^{ts}.

Childs & Swaine

Philad^a. Jan^y 27th 1791.

[‘Chiles [sic] & Swaine. 1791 | recd Jan. 27.’ on the back of the letter is in Jefferson's hand except for ‘1791’.]

Sir,

I have received from M^r Remsen, a Bank Post Note, for 88 Dols. 50 cents; the compensation which your Excellency has thought proper to allow me for publishing in my paper, the Acts and Resolves passed at the second session of the Congress of the United States.

Agreeably to M^r Remsen's desire, I herewith inclose to your Excellency my Bill, with a Receipt in full:

And am, with great respect,
your Excellency's most obedient,
most humble servant,

Benjamin Russell.

His Excellency

Thomas Jefferson, Esq.

[On back, in unknown hand: ‘Benjamin Russell | January 27, 1791 | Received
February 3^d —’]

Boston, August 6, 1791.

Sir,

Inclosed I transmit my amount for the publication, in the Columbian Centinel, of the Laws of the United States, passed at the (t)hird session of Congress; and am

Sir, With sentiments of respect
your o'b^t h^{le} ser^t,

Benj. Russell⁷

Hon. Mr Jefferson

Department of State, to wit

I hereby certify, that the proof Sheets of an edition of the Laws of (the) United States, under the title of "Laws of the United States of America" printed at Philadelphia by Andrew Brown 1792, in 130 pages octavo, have, from page 7, to page 114 of Acts, and from page i. to page xvi. of Treaties, inclusive, been carefully collated by sworn Clerks with the original Rolls deposited in the Office of the Secretary of State, and (have) been rendered literally conformable therewith; except that the signatures of the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives are omitted, and that the approbation of the President of the United States with it's date, is transposed from the end to the beginning of each Act. Given under my hand at Philadelphia, this 25th day of July 1792.

Th: Jefferson⁸ Secretary of State

7. There is a letterpress copy of an unpublished letter from Jefferson to Russell in the Library of Congress, which is added here as a footnote to the Russell series in the Archives.

Letterpress, in a clerk's hand, signed by Thomas Jefferson:

"Be pleased to correct the following typographical error in the 1.st Section of the Act intituled, "An Act to alter the times and places of holding the Circuit Courts in the Eastern District, and in North Carolina, and for other purposes". to wit "for the district of Massachusetts, at Boston, on the seventeenth day of June", strike out the word "*seventeenth*" and insert in lieu thereof the word *seventh*.

Philadelphia March 16. 1793.

Th: Jefferson

If you have not published the above mentioned act, its publication with the above correction will be sufficient."

Mr Benjamin Russell

8. The signature, only, is in Jefferson's hand. On the back is an inscription only partially legible: "— the imp[rdn] | on of an Edition of the laws | of 1 Session 2 Congress printed by | A. Brown. 25 July 1792." See the note to Andrew Brown's letter, 26 Nov., 1790, ante.

York (in the district of Maine) May 4th 1793

Sir

This is to acknowledge the receipt of a Copy of the Laws of the last Session of Congress, this Week, thro' the medium of the Post Office, under your Frank—as well as those of the first Session in the same manner about a year since; and also divers Acts of the first Congress, at preceeding periods—The making these Statutes more generally known in this district, which consists of an extensive Sea Coast, would be facilitated, if they were published in the *Gazette of Maine*—a Paper printed Weekly at Portland, in this district By *Benjamin Titcomb Jun^r.*—And it is submitted to the consideration of the Secretary, Whether such a measure would not be expedient—at least such, as are of general Concern, commen.g with the second Session of the 2^d Congress.—I understand that Henry Dearborn Esq^r the marshall of this district, is Elected a member of the House of Rep^{ns} of the next Congress—and has forwarded a resignation of his office of *marshall*. It is my desire that Capt. *John Hobby* of Portland may be brought to the recollection of the President, whenever the appointm^t of this officer shall come under consideration—As from my Acquaintance, I do not recollect, a more suitable Person, for that department in the district.—The Judicial Act makes provision for the acting of deputies, upon the *Death* of the Marshall, until a Successor is appointed⁹ how far a *resignation* may be deemed to come under that species of *Vacancy* arising from *Death*, has not to my knowledge been determined.—In case m^t Dearborn has forwarded a Resignation, it will be convenient, to say the least, to have a Successor appointed, & Commissioned¹⁰ by the next Session of the district Court, the Third Tuesday of June next.

I am, very respectfully
Sir
your obedient hum^b Servant

David Sewall

m^t Secretary Jefferson

[On the back, in Jefferson's hand: 'Sewall David. | York (Maine) May, 4,
93. | rec^d May 13. | John Hobby to be Marshal of Maine'.]

9. "Until a Successor is appointed" has been inserted above a caret.
10. "& Commissioned" has been inserted above a caret.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

*In The Savoy: A Study in
Post-Restoration Imprints*

by
C. WILLIAM MILLER

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA



In The Savoy: A Study in Post-Restoration Imprints

BIBLIOGRAPHERS OF THE PERIOD OF THE English Restoration have for years associated the imprint phrase "In the Savoy" with presswork issuing from the King's Printing House. They have not, however, recognized the value of the phrase in identifying the printers of a large number of proclamations and books, especially plays, whose title-page imprints carry "In the Savoy" but fail to name the printer. Consequently they have not attempted what this note tries tentatively to do; that is, to set down the history of the phrase and to distinguish among the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century printers who used it.

The Savoy was a large, sprawling structure situated in the Strand next to Somerset House and almost directly opposite the New Exchange. It was built originally in 1245 by Peter, Earl of Savoy, from whom it received its name. In the Restoration its ample apartments served as quarters for not only the King's Printing Press but also a prison; a parish church; religious assembly halls for the English dissenters, the French, Dutch, High Germans, and Lutherans; and a hospital harboring the poor. The Savoy fell into disuse and ruin late in the eighteenth century and was razed early in the nineteenth to clear the approach to Waterloo Bridge.

The location in the Savoy of the King's Printing Office

dates probably from the early weeks of September, 1666, when the great fire of London destroyed along with Baynard's Castle the neighboring shop of Thomas Newcombe, the printer of the *London Gazette* and the more active of the two printers working for the King under the patent held by the assigns of John Bill and Christopher Barker. The last extant issue of the *Gazette* which Newcombe signed with his Baynard Castle address is dated August 30, 1666; the issue of September 3, Number 84, is lacking in files of the news-sheet and was presumably destroyed by the fire. If we are to believe J. G. Muddiman, the next issue of the *Gazette* to appear, that of September 10, "Newcombe was compelled to print . . . in the open air, in the evil-smelling churchyard of the Savoy, choked with the bodies of the dead from the plague."¹ The imprint of this issue, however, reads simply "London, Printed by Tho. Newcomb."

The exact date on which the King's Printing Office was moved to the Savoy, therefore, remains in doubt, but there can be no question about the fact that by November 8, 1666, Newcombe and the patentees of the King's Press had decided to make the Savoy their permanent quarters; for on that date Newcombe first used the imprint phrase "In the Savoy" on two different publications printed in his shop. One was the issue of the *London Gazette* dated November 8, 1666; the other was the King's proclamation "prohibiting the importation of all sorts of manufactures" printed "By the Assigns of John Bill and Christopher Barker" and likewise dated November 8, 1666.²

From November 8, 1666, to July 19, 1688, the imprints on issues of the *London Gazette* run in an unbroken succession: "Printed by Tho. Newcomb in the Savoy." The forty-four entries in vol. 1 of Wing's *S.T.C.* bearing the imprint "In the Savoy by Thomas Newcombe . . ." are similarly distributed

1. *The King's Journalist 1659-1689* (London, 1923), p. 193.

2. Robert Steele, ed., *The Late Earl of Crawford's Catalogue of Proclamations* (Oxford, 1910), no. 3481.

through the years from 1667 to 1688. No imprint containing "In the Savoy" is linked with any printer's name other than Newcombe's during those years, and no imprint bearing the name of Thomas Newcombe or the Assigns of Thomas Newcombe after 1688 contains the phrase "In the Savoy." The later Wing volumes will, of course, have to be checked in order to verify these findings, but in the light of the specific corroborative evidence furnished by the *London Gazette* imprints, there is little likelihood that any additional data uncovered will change the terminal dates of Newcombe's printing activity in the Savoy. Further, an examination of a substantial number of the publications bearing Savoy imprints without Newcombe's name printed between those terminal dates reveals the presence of ornaments and decorative capitals clearly identifiable as Newcombe's. Those books lacking ornaments present a typography in no way inconsistent with the assumption that Newcombe was the printer. Thus one may conclude with reasonable certainty that any proclamation or book with a Savoy imprint published between November 8, 1666, and July 19, 1688, came from the presses of Thomas Newcombe.

That conclusion, however, needs one qualification. Some time between December 21, 1681, and January 11, 1681/2, Thomas Newcombe, Sr., died, and his son, Thomas Newcombe, Jr., also free of the Stationers' Company and presumably working with his father, inherited the business and assumed his father's responsibilities.³ Although the clerk of the Stationers' Company was making a distinction between father and son in *Stationers' Register* entries as early as October 27, 1677, no Newcombe imprint either in the *London Gazette* or in vol. 1 of Wing's *S.T.C.* makes the differentiation. Further, Thomas Newcombe, Sr., appears to have been actively engaged in his work almost to the end of his life, for his last entry in the *Stationers' Register* occurred on December 5, 1681. Therefore it

3. See Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were At Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667*, (London, 1907), pp. 136-37.

seems safe to conclude, finally, that all material containing the imprint phrase "In the Savoy" printed between November 8, 1666, and December, 1681, was issued by Thomas Newcombe, Sr., and all material signed "In the Savoy" and printed between January, 1681/2 and July 19, 1688, came from the presses of Thomas Newcombe, Jr. Only a check of Wing's later volumes will determine whether the second Thomas Newcombe or any succeeding Savoy printer issued imprints carrying the phrase "In the Savoy" without his name. All eighty-seven imprint citations of this special sort gathered so far fall within the dates assigned exclusively to Thomas Newcombe, Sr.

The imprint of the *London Gazette* for July 23, 1688, links the Savoy phrase for the first time with a printer named Edward Jones. The explanation for his replacing the younger Thomas Newcombe as the King's Printer midway during the year of the "Bloodless Revolution" is almost certainly political. Plomer states that Bill, Hills, and Newcombe were obliged to retire in favor of Jones "on the accession of William" because they had printed the declaration made by James II against the Prince of Orange.⁴ Plomer's argument may be sound, but the date of the *London Gazette* first bearing Jones' name indicates clearly that Jones had taken over the duties of the King's Printer some months before William's Tor Bay landing on November 5, 1688.

Whatever the political maneuvering was that led finally to Jones' gaining the patent as printer to the King, the fact is that from July 23, 1688, until February 18, 1705/6, two days after Jones' death, the imprints on issues of the *London Gazette* read without deviation: "Printed by Edw. Jones, in the Savoy." And thirty-two of the thirty-three entries in the first volume of Wing's *S.T.C.* containing the Savoy phrase dated from 1688 to 1700 are signed by Edward Jones.

The single Wing entry (C6729) linking the phrase "In the

4. See his *Dictionary . . . 1668-1725* (London, 1922), p. 174.

Savoy" with another printer's name is Thomas Coxe's *A Topographical, Ecclesiastical and Natural History of Great Britain*. In the Savoy: by Eliz. Nutt: and sold by M. Nutt . . . and J. Morphew . . . , 1700. 4° O[xford: Bodleian]. Further investigation of this volume has revealed that Wing's imprint citation is accurate; the difficulty rests with the patently incorrect date "MDCC", which occurred as a result either of a typesetter's error or of someone's deliberate attempt at false dating. The text following this title-page in the Bodleian copy and in others similarly dated⁵ is typographically in the same style as portions of the text of Thomas Coxe's *Magna Britannia* (6 vols.) printed in the Savoy by Eliz. Nutt some twenty years later in 1720-1731.

Following Edward Jones' death, "M. Jones," apparently Jones' widow, undertook to manage the Queen's Press and to print the *London Gazette*. The news-sheet imprints indicate that her tenure of office extended from February 21, 1705/6, until February 26, 1707/8, after which Jacob Tonson, Jr., assumed the publication of the *London Gazette* at his Gray's Inn shop, and J. Nutt, who had served Edward Jones in 1700 and 1703 as the retail bookseller for two of Jones' publications,⁶ began operating the Savoy presses. Thus one may conclude that all publications containing the imprint phrase "In the Savoy" printed between July 23, 1688, and February 18, 1705/6, were the presswork of Edward Jones, and all material bearing the Savoy phrase between February 23, 1705/6, and February 26, 1707/8, came from the presses of M. Jones.

The evidence for determining the Savoy printers after 1708 is too sketchy to warrant any definite conclusions. The history reconstructed from scattered statements in Plomer's *Dic-*

5. Parts of Thomas Coxe's *Magna Britannia* bearing similar spuriously-dated 1700 section title-pages: "A Topographical, Ecclesiastical and Natural History of [blank] with Pedigrees . . ." occur among the holdings of the libraries of Princeton University, University of Illinois,

and Western Reserve. See also *Notes and Queries* 6th Series, viii, 69, 338.

6. See Edward Arber, ed. *The Term Catalogues* (London, 1906), iii, 215-16, 349.

*tionaries*⁷ reveals that the Office of Queen's or King's Printers passed successively from one member of the Nutt family to another. After J. Nutt's death in 1710(?), Benjamin Nutt seems to have held office in the Savoy. He was followed in 1720 by Elizabeth Nutt, whom Plomer conjectures to be J. Nutt's widow. Sometime in 1724 she, in turn, joined Richard Nutt in a partnership which lasted until 1738. Thereafter, until his death in 1780 when the King's Printing Office was moved from the Savoy to new quarters, Richard Nutt appears to have signed all imprints bearing the phrase "In the Savoy" with his name.

7. See his *Dictionary . . . 1668-1725*, p. 222, and his *Dictionary . . . 1726-1775* (London, 1932), pp. 183-84.

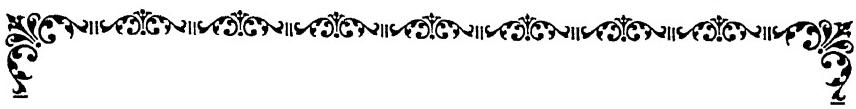
THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

Three Shakespeare Piracies
in the Eighteenth Century

by

GILES E. DAWSON

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA



Three Shakespeare Piracies in the Eighteenth Century

DURING SOME PERIODS IN THE EIGHTEENTH century it is difficult to decide just what constituted a piracy. The established, prosperous members of the Trade, who owned the most valuable literary properties, such as Shakespeare and Milton, were loudly insisting that the copyright statute of 1709 had had no adverse effect upon their perpetual rights in these properties. This view was strongly contested by the small fry among publishers, who took the position that the Act had put an end to perpetual copyright and hence that these old authors lay in the public domain. Now and again one of the little men ventured to publish Shakespeare or Milton, was hotly denounced by the 'proprietor' as a pirate, and as hotly denied the charge. But this controversy arose only after 1731, for the Act of 1709 was perfectly explicit in continuing the copyrights of old books in the hands of their then possessors for the term of twenty-one years from 25 April 1710. Any play of Shakespeare's published during this period by any stationer other than the Tonson firm or the Wellington firm—the lawful proprietors of all of Shakespeare's plays—was undeniably a piracy.

Three such piracies—the only ones known to me—form the subject of the present paper. But before we embark on the account of these three little spurious Shakespeares it will

simplify matters to have before us a description of three other Shakespeares—irreproachable publications of the lawful owners of the copyrights, the Wellingtons:¹

- (1) *HAMLET*, | Prince of DENMARK; | A |
 TRAGEDY, | As it is now Acted by his
 MAJESTY's Servants. | [rule] | Written by
 WILLIAM SHAKESPEAR. | [rule] | LONDON;
 Printed by J. DARBY, for A. BETTES-WORTH in
Pater-noster-Row, and F. CLAY | without *Temple-Bar*.
 M.DCC.XXIII. | (Price One Shilling.)
 12mo. A-I⁶.
- (2) *OTHELLO*, | THE | MOOR of VENICE; | A |
 TRAGEDY, | As it hath been divers times Acted
 at | the *Globe*, and at the *Black-Friers*: | And
 now at the *Theater-Royal*, by | His MAJESTY's
 Servants. | [rule] | Written by W. SHAKESPEAR. |
 [rule] | [ornament: a pair of quadripartite type
 blocks] | [rule] | LONDON: | Printed by JOHN
 DARBY in *Bartholomew-Close*, for | MARY POULSON,
 and sold by A. BETTES-WORTH in *Pater-noster-Row*,
 R. CALDWELL | in *Newgate-street*, and F. CLAY
 without *Temple Bar*. M.DCC.XXIV. Price 1 s
 12mo. A-H⁶.
- (3) *MACBETH*; | A | TRAGEDY, | As it is now
 Acted by His MAJESTY's Servants. | [rule] |
 Written by | WILLIAM SHAKESPEAR. | [rule] | [orna-
 ment: rabbit with crossed sprays, triangular, 37 mm. x

¹. The Mary Poulsen of the imprints was the widow of Richard Wellington (d. 1715), who had owned some half dozen Shakespeare copyrights. A. Bettesworth and F. Clay appear to have been trustees of the Wellington estate on behalf of his three minor sons, Richard, James,

and Bethel. On the Wellingtons' part in the Shakespeare copyrights see my "The Copyright of Shakespeare's Works", *Studies in Honor of A. H. R. Fairchild* (University of Missouri Studies, 1946), pp. 28-9.

OTHELLO,
THE
MOOR of VENICE;

A TRAGEDY,

As it hath been divers times Acted at
the GLOBE, and at the Black-Friers;
And now at the Theater-Royal, by
His MAJESTY's Servants;

Written by W. SHAKESPEARE.



Written by W. SHAKESPEAR.

LONDON:

Printed by JOHN DASY in BISHOPSGATE-STREET,
MAY 1604, and sold by A. BURTON,
WILLIAM PAINTER, R. CLOWDIE,
IN NEWBOLD-SQUARE, and R. CLAY WILSON, THOMAS
REED, MDCCLXIV.
Price 1s.

LONDON:

Printed by JOHN DASY in BISHOPSGATE-STREET,
MAY 1604, and sold by A. BURTON,
WILLIAM PAINTER, R. CLOWDIE,
IN NEWBOLD-SQUARE, and R. CLAY WILSON, THOMAS
REED, MDCCLXIV.
Price 1s.

OTHELLO,

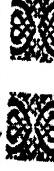
THE
MOOR of VENICE;

A

A TRAGEDY,

As it hath been divers times Acted at
the Globe, and at the Black-Friers;
And now at the Theater-Royal, by
His MAJESTY's Servants.

Written by W. SHAKESPEAR.



Written by W. SHAKESPEAR.

LONDON:

Printed by JOHN DASY in BISHOPSGATE-STREET,
MAY 1604, and sold by A. BURTON,
WILLIAM PAINTER, R. CLOWDIE,
IN NEWBOLD-SQUARE, and R. CLAY WILSON, THOMAS
REED, MDCCLXIV.
Price 1s.

A

B

FIGURE I

(3)



O T H E L L O ,
THE
MOOR of VENICE.

A C T I S C E N E I.

Enter Iago and Roderigo.

Rod.
TUS HI. Never tell me, I take it
much unkindly,
Than them who best had my Purse,
As if the Saracens were thare, Roderigo,
I know of the
Moor, But you'll not hear me,
If every bad dream of death should hold him in thy bairn,
And Thou robbst me, thou daff'd old Turk in thy late,
Iz. Define me if I do not : the Great wares of the
City,
In personal fuit, to make me his Lieutenant,
O' capt to him, and by the Faith of Mus,
I know my Price, I'm worth no worse a Piece.

Exit.

(3)



O T H E L L O ,
THE
MOOR of VENICE.

A C T I S C E N E I.

Enter Iago and Roderigo.

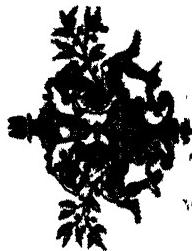
Rod.
TUS HI. Never tell me, I take it
much unkindly,
That thou who best had my Purse,
As if the strings were thine, shou'dst
know of the
Moor, But you'll not hear me,
If ever I did dream of fit a matter, abhor me,
And Thou robbst me, thou daff'd old Turk in thy late,
Iz. Define me if I do not : the Great wares of the
City,
In personal fuit, to make me his Lieutenant,
O' capt to him, and by the Faith of Mus,
I know my Price, I'm worth no worse a Piece.

Exit.

96 Othello, the Moor of Venice.

Trah is thy Work; the Object, prifous Sigh—
Lay it he M— Greatza, keep the Hous—
And fette upon the Porous of the Ma—
For hir fuced to 'you— To you, Lord Governor,
Recomm the Confie of this helish Villain.
The Frans, the Paces, the Torture, O enforce it.
My self will kraf aboard, and to the State,
This heavy AG, with heavy Heart relates. [Zanous answer.

F I N I S.

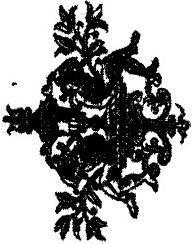


A

96 Othello, the Moor of Venice.

This is thy Work; the Object, poifous Sigh—
Let it be laid, And fice upon the Porous of the Moon,
For to succeed to you— Is you, Lord Governor,
Recomm the Centare of this helish Villain.
The Frans, the Paces, the Torture, O enforce it.
My self shall dray abroad, and to the State,
This heavy AG, with heavy Heart relates. [Extreme severity.

F I N I S.



B

THE FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY

FIGURE III

24 mm.] | [rule] | LONDON, | Printed for J.
TONSON; and also for J. DARBY, | A. BETTESWORTH,
and F. CLAY, in Trust | for RICHARD, JAMES, and
BETHEL WEL-LINGTON. M.DCC.XXIX.

12mo. A-G⁶.

Ford's bibliography² contains three entries corresponding to these. It ought to contain six, for there exist two editions of the 1723 *Hamlet*, two of the 1724 *Othello*, and two of the 1729 *Macbeth* to which the foregoing descriptions would in each case apply equally well. That Ford failed to recognize these duplicate editions is not to his discredit, for the duplication is so close that even when the pairs are seen together it is not easy at once to distinguish them. More conspicuous differences than those which they present have been overlooked in books of greater importance than these three insignificant duodecimos. Not until very recently was it recognized that the 1709 Rowe edition of Shakespeare and the 1765 Johnson edition were each two editions, actually, instead of one. And these pairs differ even as to collation. But their title-pages, their format, their illustrations—the points ordinarily observed by booksellers and collectors—differ only in such trifling details as no one but a prying bibliographer is likely to observe—or value.³ This practice of making reprints duplicate their first editions might reasonably be taken to explain the reprints which we are now considering. A close examination of these, however, reveals certain features which clearly show such an explanation to be untenable and which suggest instead unlawful publication and an intent to deceive. It will make the detailed description of these features easier if we confine ourselves first to one of the plays—the 1724 *Othello*. In this description

2. H. L. Ford, *Shakespeare 1700-1740* (Oxford, 1935), Nos. 47, 167, and 217.

3. No satisfactory explanation has ever been suggested to account for this 18th-century

practice of disguising the fact that a reprint, when it follows close on the heels of the first edition, was a reprint. Why not openly denominate the reprint "Second Edition" and thus advertise the popularity of the work?

I use the letters *A* and *B* to designate the two editions (in what I believe to be their correct order).

Title-page. Comparison of the *A* and *B* titles in the accompanying reproduction reveals small typographical variations sufficiently apparent without further comment. But it also reveals a degree of correspondence too great to be the result of accident or of the natural desire of the compositor of a reprint to save time and trouble by following his copy as exactly as possible. The dimensions of the *A* and *B* type-pages, for example, differ by scarcely a hair's breadth.⁴ The similarity of the pair of ornaments on *A* and *B*, each composed of four common stock pieces, is not remarkable; the close correspondence of their relative positions is more so.

Headband, A2^r. Again, it is not remarkable that the printer of *B* should have had in his shop, or have been able to obtain, the type sorts of which he found the *A* headband composed. These were standard ornaments, doubtless obtainable by any printer. The significant points are, on the one hand, that the two headbands are not exactly identical and, on the other, that they are so near alike that the differences can be detected only upon close examination. To make the rows of very small pieces which compose the outer border and separate the larger interior elements fill the required spaces, it was necessary to insert here and there thin types. In the top row are an exclamation point and a question mark; in the righthand side an exclamation point; in the lefthand side an 'i'. Exactly the same types appear in *B* as in *A* and in precisely the same positions—an effect which required careful calculation and counting.

Factotum initial, A2^r. The factotum of *B* is not identical with that of *A* but is sufficiently like it—and this is the important point—to be regarded as unmistakably an imitation. The *A* factotum having been a woodblock, the *B* printer did not have,

4. In contrast to this the type-page height of the general title to the second of the 1765 Johnson editions, printed in the same shop as

the first and intended to imitate it closely, is more than 9 mm. taller.

and could not go out and buy, a duplicate, as he could the component parts of the headband. His alternatives were instead to use another factotum of similar size and character, or to have an imitation of *A* specially made for the occasion. The first of these alternative courses would not, it seems, answer his purpose, and we may assume that he chose the second. It is chiefly upon this factotum (supported by the tailpiece on H6^v) that my determination of the order in which the two editions were printed rests. It is obvious that the *A* factotum is old and worn, while *B* appears fresh and clean.

Tailpiece, p. 96 (H6^v). Much of what I have said about the factotums applies to these tailpieces. *B* is of cruder workmanship than *A*, with heavy outlines and inferior draughtsmanship, but is clean and unworn.

Signatures. One of the easiest quick tests by which to determine whether two given copies of a book (of the 18th century or earlier) are printed from the same setting of type or whether they belong instead to two different editions is to compare signatures. Since compositors did not bother to center their signatures exactly in the lower margins, a signature in one edition will ordinarily occupy a different position in relation to the letters of the line just above it from that of the corresponding signature in another edition. The variation between the position of the 'A2' in *A* and *B* (see the reproduction) is so slight as to appear not to be the result of chance. A comparison of the other signatures of the two editions makes it clear that chance is not here the controlling factor—that, even in such a trifling and unobtrusive detail, the *B* compositor was consciously imitating his copy, *A*. Of twenty-three signatures in the volume the *B* compositor placed eighteen of them more accurately than he did the 'A2'.

Press figures. In many 18th-century books we find in an occasional lower margin a figure, asterisk, or the like—never more than one to a forme. These are believed to indicate the press or the pressman on which or by which the forme was

printed. It seems probable that they were inserted by the press-man; they could not have been inserted until the formes were made up. And so there would normally be—and there normally is—no agreement whatever between the press figures of a first edition and those of a reprint of it. In the *Othello* there is such agreement. One press figure appears in *A*—a ‘2’ on C6^v. And *B* agrees with this, even down to the position of the figure on the page. This can only be intentional imitation.

So much for the 1724 *Othello*. The 1723 *Hamlet* and the 1729 *Macbeth* exhibit the same kinds of similarities in the two editions of each. Title-pages are copied with approximately the same degree of fidelity. Factotums and tailpieces of the two *A* editions are worn like those of *Othello*, while those of the *B* editions are new looking, heavy, rather crude in workmanship, and have the appearance of imitations executed by the same hand as those of *Othello*. *Hamlet* has at the head of its text a composite headband somewhat like that of *Othello*, the *B* edition showing the same care in the placing of the thin types needed to fill up that we found there. The *Macbeth* headpiece is, instead, a foliated woodblock ornament, *B* imitating *A* just as in the factotums and tailpieces. In its signatures *Hamlet* is almost as remarkable in the correspondence of *B* to *A* as *Othello*. Of a total of twenty-five signatures, eighteen agree more or less exactly in their relative positions. Likewise the *Hamlet* *B* press figures exactly duplicate the four in *A*—three stars and a ‘1’. In the 1729 *Macbeth* no press figures occur in either edition, and the *B* compositor failed to follow *A* in the placing of his signatures.

From this mass of evidence it will be quite clear that in the printing of the three *B* editions neither trouble or expense was spared to produce careful type-facsimiles. There could have been no reason for this if the *B* editions were ordinary reprints (like those of 1709 and 1765) produced by John Darby, who is named in all the imprints. Had Darby been responsible for these reprints, supposing that he had had any motive for pro-

ducing exact facsimiles, he could have made them better and with less trouble by using the same factotums and tailpieces instead of only moderately good imitations. He retained these old factotums and tailpieces in his shop and used them later in other plays. Quite obviously, then, the three reprints are the work of a pirate. And from the great lengths to which he went to make his spurious products look exactly like the genuine it seems probable that he had reason to fear detection.

Were the evidence of piracy less conclusive than it is, one would be tempted to allow some weight to what appears at first sight to be a piece of contrary evidence, namely an advertisement appended to the 1729 *Macbeth*. In the 1723 *Hamlet* also, the original printer, following a common custom, filled what would otherwise have been a blank and wasted page at the end of the play by there placing an advertisement of 'Books printed for M. Poulson.' This our pirate, carrying out with complete fidelity the facsimile nature of his reprint, reproduces in its proper place (I6v), thus very honestly advertising the wares of his rival. In the *Macbeth*, Darby had a blank leaf at the end (G6), which he utilized by printing on the recto a list of 'Books printed for J. Tonson in the Strand' and on the verso one of 'Books sold by J. Darby in Bartholomew-Close, A. Bettesworth in Pater-noster-Row, and F. Clay without Temple-bar, in trust for Richard, James, and Bethel Wellington.' Again, the pirate follows suit, reproducing the advertisements with close attention to details of typography, spelling, and punctuation. But there is a difference, and it is this that creates the difficulty. When we find, upon collating the Darby-Wellington list, that the reprint omits two titles, we need not attach much importance to the omission; it could, despite this printer's usual care, be a mere accident. But when, proceeding down the list, we find in the spurious reprint two titles not included in the genuine original, this is harder to explain. What we have seen of the pirate's work has not led us to expect from him any degree of carelessness that could have produced such a result. The only

explanation which I have been able to evolve eliminates any carelessness on the pirate's part without, I hope, too great a strain upon our credulity. The two extra titles which appear in the reprint, '*Collier's Dictionary abridg'd, 2 Vol.*' and '*Hartman's Family Physician,*' were for many years among the Wellington stock. They appear, for example, together with most of the other titles in the *Macbeth* list, in a list of books printed for the three Wellingtons and sold by Darby, Bettesworth, Clay, and R. Caldwell which is appended to a 1728 edition of Lee's *Mithridates* and in another Wellington-Bettesworth-Clay list appended to a 1734 edition of *Mithridates*. Is it not reasonable to assume, then, that Darby omitted the Collier and Hartman titles from the *Macbeth* list by mistake, that he remedied this by a belated press correction, that copies were sold in both states, that the pirate had before him a copy with the list in the second state, and that the two copies known to me both belong, by an unhappy chance, to the first?

Three questions about these elaborately executed piracies remain to be considered: Who was the pirate? When did he produce his spurious reprints? How did he intend to dispose of them? While I can supply no confident answer to any of these questions, I can at least throw some light on all of them and suggest some plausible answers.

William Feales, who is first heard of in 1729, very soon established himself as a large dealer in plays. His name appears in the imprint of many plays between 1731 and 1736, never, so far as I have observed, as sole publisher, always in conjunction with such well-established capitalists as Bernard Lintott, the Wellingtons, or the Tonsons, particularly the last. From the first he appears to have been primarily a wholesale dealer in plays, especially remainders. Two receipts preserved in the British Museum^s show him buying in October 1731 from Benjamin Motte 1950 copies of Crowne's *Sir Courtly Nice* for £13.11.0, and in July 1733 from Lintott 606 copies of Cibber's *Love's Last Shift*, the price not stated. *Sir Courtly Nice* was a

fairly new play, published at some time in 1731, but the price of 1 2/3 pence per copy suggests a remainder stock. Though Feales sold plays separately, he also collected them into bound sets for which he supplied general title-pages. The first of these he called *The English Theatre*. This began as an eight-volume set, dated 1731, but additional 'Parts' of six or eight volumes extended the set by 1733 to twenty-six volumes containing 104 plays, which he advertised at £4.7.6 bound (which comes to 10d. per play). I do not know of any complete set of these; the Folger Library has a nearly complete set the only missing volume of which is supplied in another broken set.

The plays, which have their own titles, are chiefly old remainders, their dates going back as far as 1719 and their imprints representing many publishers. As a stock of old remainders became exhausted, Feales obtained other reprints to fill their places; in all probability he undertook for this purpose the publication of new reprints in conjunction with those publishers who controlled the copyrights. Thus in a volume with a general title-page dated 1731 we may find plays dated 1733. And in the two Folger sets, though they are alike in general titles and contents, a given play may be of two different editions, one 1728, the other 1733. With Feales's later ventures, *The British Theatre*, in ten volumes, and 'The Beautiful Editions of the Plays with Red Titles and Handsome Frontispieces'—the latter consisting of the old plays issued separately with new (cancel) titles—I am not now concerned.

Feales's method of play publishing bears upon our three pirated plays. For all three of them appear in the first volume of *The English Theatre*, 1731—the three counterfeit reprints, in the order indicated by their imprint dates, complete with titles and advertisements—together with a 1729 edition of Tate's *King Lear*. The two Folger copies of this volume are identical in every important respect.

Now I cannot say how Feales acquired the three reprints. He was not himself a printer, and when he required the services of a printer he usually employed Darby himself, who is in this

case, as always so far as I know, above suspicion. Yet it is not impossible—or even unlikely—that Feales was the culprit. Nothing is known about him before 1731, except for the single imprint of 1729 mentioned before. He was not in any case a well-established member of the trade and may well, before he became respectable as the associate of the most substantial stationers of London, have been a shady character not above a barefaced piracy. He may have employed some equally shady printer to do the job for him and, experiencing difficulty in getting the pirated plays off his hands, may have kept them until the assembling of *The English Theatre* occurred to him. Or he may have acquired a large stock of miscellaneous plays with such a collection in view and, unable to obtain editions of the most popular plays of Shakespeare which he desired for his first volume, may have had them secretly printed for the purpose. On the other hand, it must be regarded as equally possible that Feales, a wholesale dealer in all sorts of plays, bought these three piracies from their real perpetrator, either quite innocently or with some degree of guilt. Perhaps, even, the real pirate was caught, and his stock confiscated, as the Act of 1709 provided, and then acquired by Feales. There seems little to choose between these alternative suggestions.

Whichever origin we choose, it seems to me very probable that the three plays were produced not earlier than 1729, and I see no good reason for assigning a date earlier than 1731. The dates on the title-pages of the reprints may of course be ignored. And the similarity of technique in all three, together with the uniformity in execution of the woodblock ornaments, supplies some ground for assuming that the three piracies were carried out by one printer and at one time.

When all is said, it must be admitted that we have here but few facts. All that can be said with complete confidence is that the three reprints are piracies, and that William Feales is the only man whom we can connect with them in any way.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

The Compositor of
the "Pied Bull" *Lear*

by

PHILIP WILLIAMS

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA



The Compositor of the "Pied Bull" *Lear*

THE MOST RECENT STUDY OF THE PRINTING of the controversial "Pied Bull" quarto of *Lear* remarks that the application of a spelling test to determine the number of compositors employed remains a desideratum.¹ Following this suggestion, I have examined the text of the "Pied Bull" *Lear* and two other play quartos printed by Nicholas Okes, in an attempt to prove, if possible, the number of compositors employed.² The technique I use was first developed by Professor Charlton Hinman.³ It consists, in brief, of identifying the orthographic habits and peculiarities of individual compositors. In addition to supplying three good examples of the reliability of Professor Hinman's test,⁴ I think that I can show conclusively that only one compositor was engaged in the production of *Lear*.

1. Fredson Bowers, "An Examination of the Method of Proof Correction in *Lear*," *The Library*, Fifth Series (1947), II, 35 n.1.

Inquiry, p. 45, as quoted in Bowers, *op. cit.*, p. 40).

2. This paper is a part of a larger study of Nicholas Okes' printing practices upon which I am engaged. Dr. Greg and Professor Bowers agree that in reconstructing the method of printing employed in *Lear* "we are bound to explain the peculiarities as the necessary outcome of some normal method of working" (W. W. Greg, *The Variants in the First Quarto of "King Lear": A Bibliographical and Critical*

3. Charlton Hinman, "Principles Governing the Use of Variant Spellings as Evidence of Alternate Setting by Two Compositors," *The Library*, Fourth Series (1940), XXI, 78-94.

4. So far as I know, the only published examples of the extensive application of the spelling test are those offered in Professor Hinman's article.

In order to prove that the "Pied Bull" *Lear* is the work of a single compositor, it is first necessary to examine two other dramatic quartos printed by Nicholas Okes. The information thereby obtained concerning the spelling habits of the compositors in the Okes shop can then be applied to the *Lear* quarto.

In 1612, four years after he printed the *Lear* quarto, Nicholas Okes printed the first quarto of John Webster's *The White Devil*. An examination of this quarto shows that two compositors were employed. One compositor (whom I designate B) never uses the apostrophe in the form *Ile*, although he regularly uses it in such forms as *He'd*, *We've*, and the like. In addition to this peculiar use of the apostrophe, Compositor B frequently uses *ie* for final *y*. The other compositor (whom I designate A) generally uses the apostrophe in the form *I'le* and, with certain exceptions mentioned below, never uses *ie* for final *y*. Both compositors invariably spell certain words with a final *y*. These words, which are not included in the tabulations because they are non-significant, are: *any*, *away*, *lay*, *may*, *many*, *pray*, *say*, *way*, and *why*. The appearance of *Ile/I'le* and final *y/ie* forms is given in the following chart.⁵

The tabulation shows that the alternation of the two compositors was not regular. Beginning with B₁, Compositor A set B₁, B_{1v}, C₁-F_{2v}, G₁-G_{2v}, H₂, H_{2v}, H₄, H_{4v}, I₃, I_{3v}, I_{4v}, K₁, K_{3v}-K_{4v}, L₃-M_{2v}. The quarto consists of 88 pages, 87 of which contain letterpress (the verso of the title page is blank). Of these, Compositor A set 56 pages. The remaining 31 pages were set by Compositor B.⁶

5. Evidence supplied by the running-titles proves that printing started with B gathering, and that A₁-A_{2v} (containing the title-page and preliminary matter) was printed with M₁-M_{2v} by full sheet imposition. After printing, the sheet was divided. I have, therefore, arranged the pages in order of composition: A₁-A_{2v} follows M_{1v}.

6. The evidence in certain pages is insufficient, and in five cases, somewhat ambiguous.

The appearance of a single final *y* on the title-page is certainly insufficient evidence for assigning the page to A; but as A composed the two following pages, it seems reasonably likely that he set the title-page too. This suggestion becomes even more likely when we note that the pages immediately preceding the title-page (in order of composition) were also set by A.

On pages E₁, F_{2v}, G₁, H_{2v}, and I_{2v} we find a single final *ie* spelling conflicting with a

THE WHITE DEVIL (1612)

(A)		(B)						(A)					
		B ₁	B _{1v}	B ₂	B _{2v}	B ₃	B _{3v}	B ₄	B _{4v}	C ₁	C _{1v}	C ₂	C _{2v}
y		4	7	8	4	7	9	2	2	9	5	5	7
I'le										1	1	2	1
ie				4	2	5	1	3	7				2
lle									3				3

(A)														
	D ₁	D _{1v}	D ₂	D _{2v}	D ₃	D _{3v}	D ₄	D _{4v}	E ₁	E _{1v}	E ₂	E _{2v}	E ₃	E _{3v}
y	10	5	5	14	4	4	7	5	6	3	7	4	10	7
I'le	2	3	2	2	1	1	1				2			1
ie		2*				1*			1					1*
lle					2						2		3	

(A)				(B)				(A)				(B)				
	F ₁	F _{1v}	F ₂	F _{2v}	F ₃	F _{3v}	F ₄	F _{4v}	G ₁	G _{1v}	G ₂	G _{2v}	G ₃	G _{3v}	G ₄	G _{4v}
y	9	8	5	5	2	1	5	12	4	4	11	8		3	1	2
I'le		1	1						2	2	3	1				
ie		1			3	11	6			1/1*			5	4	9	1
lle					2	1	1	2					4	2	3	3

preponderance of final *y* spellings; and on F_{2v}, G₁, and H_{2v} conflicting with I'le forms as well. On E₁, the form *bodis* appears as the final word of a full line, and the unexpected spelling may be explained as the method adopted for justifying the line. The spellings on G₁, H_{2v}, and I_{2v} seem to be inexplicable exceptions to A's normal spelling habits. The conflict on F_{2v}, however, is capable of explanation, and suggests a third characteristic that may be of some use in distinguishing the two compositors. The word *merrie* appears on the

fourth line from the bottom of the page. In the preceding line, the word *do* appears three times, each time spelled *do*. On the last line of the page the word appears spelled *dos*. A tabulation of the occurrence of *do/dos* forms throughout the book reveals that B shows a marked preference for the *dos* form; A is predisposed toward the *do* form. It would, therefore, seem probable that Compositor A set the first 33 lines on F_{2v}, and was then relieved by Compositor B who set the remaining four lines and the three following pages. (A similar case is cited by Professor Hinman, *op. cit.*, p. 90.)

(B)		(A)		(B)		(A)		(B)				(A)		(B)	(A)	
H ₁	H _{1v}	H ₂	H _{2v}	H ₃	H _{3v}	H ₄	H _{4v}	I ₁	I _{1v}	I ₂	I _{2v}	I ₃	I _{3v}	I ₄	I _{4v}	
y	2	2	9	2	1	5	6	9	5	4	9	8	12	8	2	7
I'le			I	I			I					2	6	2		I
ie	5	6		I	6	5			6	I	7	I		I	3	
Ile	I	2				I			I			I	I†	I	I	I

(A)		(B)				(A)		(B)				(A)				
K ₁	K _{1v}	K ₂	K _{2v}	K ₃	K _{3v}	K ₄	K _{4v}	L ₁	L _{1v}	L ₂	L _{2v}	L ₃	L _{3v}	L ₄	L _{4v}	
y	7	3	5	3	3	9	6	13	5	6	3	10	12	12	12	7
I'le						I							I	2		
ie	I*	4	5	4	10	I*			6	5	9	3		I*		
Ile		3	4		I	I			3	I	2	3				

(A)							
M ₁	M _{1v}	M ₂	M _{2v}	A ₁	A _{1v}	A ₂	A _{2v}
y	8	4	8	9	I b	13	15
I'le					I		
ie			I*		a		
Ile	2	3			n		k

*words ending in *fie*, or the words
die, fie, lie, tria, vie. A's usual spelling.
†the spacing indicates an apostrophe has dropped out during printing.

In 1609, one year later than the "Pied Bull" *Lear*, Nicholas Okes printed the first and only quarto of Robert Armin's *The History of the Two Maids of More-clacke*. An examination of the text of this quarto shows that, as with *The White Devil*, two compositors were engaged. The two compositors, moreover, are the same two whose work has been identified in the Webster quarto. The following chart shows the occurrence of the significant forms by which their identity can be ascertained.⁷

7. As in the previous tabulation, words invariably spelled with a final *y* by both compositors are not included.

THE TWO MAIDS OF MORE-CLACKE (1609)

	(B)	(A)	(B)	(A)	(B)	(A)										
y	A ₁ I	A ₁ v 5	A ₂ 6	A ₂ v 2	A ₃ 5	A ₃ v 13	A ₄ 20	A ₄ v 11	B ₁ 6	B ₁ v 6	B ₂ 6	B ₂ v 10	B ₃ 6	B ₃ v 11	B ₄ II	B ₄ v 13
I'le																I I
ie	I		I	2		I			4	5	II	3				I*/2
Ile	I		I	2	I	2	2	I								
do		I		2												2
doe									I	I	I					2

	(B)				(A)				(B)				(A)			
	C ₁	C _{IV}	C ₂	C _{2v}	C ₃	C _{3v}	C ₄	C _{4v}	D ₁	D _{1v}	D ₂	D _{2v}	D ₃	D _{3v}	D ₄	D _{4v}
y	8	4	1	3	I3	I4	24	4	5	5	11	1	8	10	8	6
I'le					5	1										
ie	5	4	4	7			I*		1	6	1	1	3	I*	2	
Ile		2			I	I	5		3	I	2				I	
do					I	I					2		I			I
doe	4	I	2	4						2	3	I	I	I	I	

	(B)				(A)				(B)				(A)			
	E ₁	E ₁ v	E ₂	E ₂ v	E ₃	E ₃ v	E ₄	E ₄ v	F ₁	F ₁ v	F ₂	F ₂ v	F ₃	F ₃ v	F ₄	F ₄ v
y	5	4	5	4	11	10	6	9	6	6	8	7	11	8	9	10
I'le																
ie	4	3	4	5					8	9	4	2			1	
Ile					1										2	
do						1	2	1		1				2		1
doe		1		1				1	1	1	1	2				1

	(B)				(A)				(B)				(A)		(B)	
	G ₁	G ₁ v	G ₂	G ₂ v	G ₃	G ₃ v	G ₄	G ₄ v	H ₁	H ₁ v	H ₂	H ₂ v	H ₃	H ₃ v	H ₄	H ₄ v
y	6	9	10	6	8	9	12	9	3	10	7	8	8	10	8	6
I'le																
ie	4	4	5	5		1	1	1	2	6	4	3	2	1		2
Ile										2						1
do					1		1	1					2	1		1
doe					1	1			3	3	1					

	(B)	(B)		(A)		
	I _r I _{1v} I ₂ I _{2v}	¶I	¶I _v	¶I ₂ ¶I _{2v}		
y	4 4 10 2		I	B	10	B
I'le				L		L
ie	2 I 5 3	I	A		A	
Ile	I I		N		N	
do	I		K	I	K	
Doe						

*words ending in *fie*, or the words *fie*, *lie*, *die*, *trie*, *vie*, A's usual spelling.

In *The Merry Maids of More-clacke*, composing started with A₁.⁸ Compositor B set the following pages: A₁, A_{2v}, A₃, B₁-B_{2v}, C₁-C_{2v}, D₁-D₃, E₁-E_{2v}, F₁-F_{2v}, G₁-G_{2v}, H₁-H₃, H_{4v}-I_{2v}. The title-page was probably set by B. The remaining 31 pages (out of a total of 70) were composed by A. The two compositors generally alternated after setting four type-pages, and the evidence of this alternation is, in the main, quite clear.⁹

By combining the evidence obtained from *The White Devil* and *The Two Maids*, and tabulating this evidence in percentages, the spelling habits of the two compositors can be summarized as follows:

	I'le	Ile	y	ie	do	doe
Composer A	63%	27%	99%	1%	90%	10%
Composer B	0	100%	60%	40%	20%	80%

8. The evidence provided by the running-titles proves that printing began with text gathering A. As in *The White Devil*, the title-page and preliminary matter, consisting of two pages signed ¶, were printed along with the final two-page gathering by full sheet imposition. The running-title appearing on the versos reads "The History(ie) of the two". Four such running-titles are used. Two read "Historie", and were, I believe, set by Compositor B. The other two, reading "History", were probably set by Compositor A.

9. On certain pages the evidence is inconclusive, and on others, somewhat ambiguous. The one *ie* form on the title-page is hardly sufficient evidence to assign the composition of the title-page to B. On A₄, one *ie* spelling (*courtesie*) conflicts with twenty *y* spellings.

The same word, this time spelled "courtesie", appears on H_{3v}, where it conflicts with ten final *y* spellings. On B_{4v}, the form "weie" (for *weigh*) appears twice. I believe "weie" may have been A's normal spelling. On D₄ and F_{2v}, the spelling "busie" occurs; and on D₄, we also find "obloquie". On the strength of these two *is* forms on D₄, plus the single *Ile* form and the one spelling *doe*, the page should probably be assigned to Compositor B. To do so, however, upsets the quite regular alternation that precedes and follows. On G_{3v}, G₄, and G_{4v}, the single *is* spellings seem to be inexplicable variations from A's normal habits. On B₁ and D₁, pages clearly composed by B, we find the form *I'le*. A possible explanation may be that B, attempting to follow his copy closely, misplaced the apostrophe in setting the word.

Turning now to the "Pied Bull" *Lear* quarto, we find that only one compositor was engaged in setting the book, and that this compositor is the Compositor B of *The White Devil* and *The Two Maids of More-clacke*. A tabulation of the characteristic forms upon which this spelling test is based is given below.

KING LEAR (1608)

	B ₁	B _{1v}	B ₂	B _{2v}	B ₃	B _{3v}	B ₄	B _{4v}	C ₁	C _{1v}	C ₂	C _{2v}	C ₃	C _{3v}	C ₄	C _{4v}
y	2	5	7	9	5	5	3	5	7	4	10	8	6	4	2	8
I'le																
ie	3	3	4	3	2	5	5	3	2	3	2	3	2	4	3	1
Ile														3	3	1
do	1	1														
doe	1	1		2		3			1		2	2	2	2	1	2

	D ₁	D _{1v}	D ₂	D _{2v}	D ₃	D _{3v}	D ₄	D _{4v}	E ₁	E _{1v}	E ₂	E _{2v}	E ₃	E _{3v}	E ₄	E _{4v}
y	2	3	5	6	5	4	4	2	4	9	5	2	3	4	5	6
I'le																
ie	2	4	5	2	5	5	4	3	4	2	2		7	1	6	4
Ile	1		1	3			2	1	2	1		3	1			3
do		2			1		1		1							
doe	1	2		1		1	1		1			3		1		

	F ₁	F _{1v}	F ₂	F _{2v}	F ₃	F _{3v}	F ₄	F _{4v}	G ₁	G _{1v}	G ₂	G _{2v}	G ₃	G _{3v}	G ₄	G _{4v}
y	3	1	1	5	3	5	5	9	6	1	11	4	3	4	13	10
I'le																
ie	5	4	2	5	1	1	2	1	3	1	4	4	3	3	1	1
Ile			1	1	4	1						2				
do	2		1		1											
doe	1	1	2	1		3			1	1	1		1		1	

	H ₁	H _{1v}	H ₂	H _{2v}	H ₃	H _{3v}	H ₄	H _{4v}	I ₁	I _{1v}	I ₂	I _{2v}	I ₃	I _{3v}	I ₄	I _{4v}	
y	5	3	3	1	3	3	7	3	4	4	4	2	4	4	4	11	7
I'le																	
ie	5		2			2		3	2	3	2	2	4	7	7	1	
Ile			1	2	1	2		1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	
do														3	3	1	
doe	3	1	1	2	2		2			5	1	2	1				

	K ₁	K ₁ ^v	K ₂	K ₂ ^v	K ₃	K ₃ ^v	K ₄	K ₄ ^v	L ₁	L ₁ ^v	L ₂	L ₂ ^v	L ₃	L ₃ ^v	L ₄	L ₄ ^v
y	10	1	4	3	7	8	1	4	5	3	4	7	5	3	7	
I'le																
ie	5	1	4	3	1	1		2	1	4	1	4	3			
Ille	2	2				2	2	2	2							2
do			4							1	4		1			
doe				5	1			2	1							

The characteristics that distinguish Compositor B are at once apparent: the absence of the apostrophe in *Ille* forms, the frequent spellings in final *ie*, and the preponderance of *doe* spellings. When presented in percentage form, the figures for *Lear* are very close to the percentages arrived at by combining the evidence obtained from *The White Devil* and *The Two Maids*. In *Lear*, final *ie* is used 45% of the time as compared with 40%, and the *doe* form is used 72% of the time as compared with 80% for *The White Devil* and *The Two Maids*.

On only two pages, I believe, is the evidence inconclusive. On H₄, we find seven final *y*'s, no final *ie* spellings, and no *Ille* forms. The two *doe* forms suggest Compositor B but are not evidence enough upon which to assign him the work. On L₄, the only significant forms appearing are seven final *y*'s. As Compositor B has, however, set all of the other pages, it seems very likely that he also set H₄ and L₄.

The thirteen settings of the running-titles¹⁰ that appear in the quarto all read *The Historie of King Lear*. On the strength of the *ie* spelling, I believe that these, like the rest of the text, were set by Compositor B.

10. Bowers, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

The First Five Bookes of Ovids
Metamorphosis, 1621, *Englisched*
by Master George Sandys

— *by* —

JAMES G. McMANAWAY

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA



The First Five Bookes of Ovids Metamorphosis, 1621, Englished by Master George Sandys

THE DISCOVERY¹ DURING THE SUMMER OF 1947 of a copy of *The First Five Bookes of Ovids Metamorphosis* "Imprinted for W.B: 1621" puts an end to many conjectures² about this mysterious and elusive little book; but not to all, for according to the title-page, it belongs to "edit: 2d." The copy, which was acquired for the Folger Shakespeare Library, may be the very one of which just one hundred and forty years ago Joseph Haslewood supplied to Sir Egerton Brydges the following account:

Art. IV. *The First Five Bookes of Ovid's Metamorphosis, Second Edition.*
Imprinted for W.B. 1621. 16 mo pp. 141, besides Introduction.

This edition of the translation of Ovid by Geo. Sandys, is unnoticed in all the lists of his works. The title is engraved on a curtain, supported by two flying Cupids; above the curtain, Venus lying on a couch of clouds, holding a burning heart, attended with doves and the god of love, and below a full assembly of the heathen deities. "Fr. Delaram, sculp."^{2a} A head of Ovid in an

1. It is a pleasure to record my thanks to Mr. Lionel Robinson for putting me in touch with the owner, who had found the book in a barrow in front of an obscure bookshop.

2. For an historical survey of the facts hitherto known to bibliographers and scholars, and of their hypotheses, see Richard Beale Davis, "Early Editions of George Sandys's 'Ovid': The Circumstances of Production," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, xxxv (1941), 255-76.

2a. A comparison of this engraving with photostats from the University of Chicago Library and Harvard University Library indicates that Delaram copied in reverse the unsigned engraving which serves as the general title of a duodecimo edition published in Amsterdam in 1619 by Guilielmus Ianssonius with the title, *Pub: Ovidii Nasonis Opera* (another copy is credited to Mills College and a fourth to the Bibliothèque Nationale). The work also appears in a 1624 edition (cf. copies credited to the American Antiquarian Society

oval, with verses beneath, as in the folios. "Ovid defended," is the only article prefixed to this edition, which has a trifling variance from the subsequent ones, as giving "Ovid's selfe-censure," a translation of the concluding lines of lib. 15 . . . Of the edition, dated 1621, I have never seen any other copy than the one above described. The date of the first edition of the five books yet remains to be ascertained.³

More than once the failure of scholars to locate this or any other copy of the book—nowhere is the name of the owner of the copy in question stated—has led to speculation about the accuracy of Haslewood's description and even about his honesty.⁴ The vindication of the antiquary, who suffered deeply from the scorn of some of his more genteel contemporaries, in this instance may help to validate his other contributions to bibliography.

The Folger copy of *The First Five Bookes*—which, until another comes to light, I shall call unique—corresponds in almost every detail to that described by Haslewood. The book, which measures 6.4 x 10.2 cm., is actually a duodecimo and not a sexagesimo. When purchased, it possessed only the rear cover and portions of the backstrip of eighteenth-century calf, and its condition was such that after a careful examination

and to the Bibliothèque Nationale), but Dr. Brigham writes me that the copy in the library of the American Antiquarian Society is not a Jansson publication. The title-page of this edition, which has no engraved general title, reads as follows: "Publii Ovidii Nasonis Operum Tomus I. quo continentur Heroidum Epistola. Amorum Libri III. De arte Amandi Libri tres. De Remedio Amoris Libri II. Et alia, qua aversa pagella indicat. [cut of 2 globes] Amsterdami Apud Guilielmum Caesium Anno MDCCXIIII." The appearance of the name Caesium suggests that the copy listed in the catalogue of the Bibl. Nat. as by "G. Janss. Caesium" may be inaccurately described. In 1629 the Jansson edition was reprinted with a different title, *Pub: Ovidii Nas: Opera. Daniel Heinsius textum recensuit*, by Ioannes Ianssonus (I have used a photostat of the title-page of the Harvard copy; other copies of this edition are in the Boston Public Library, the Washing-

ton and Lee University Library, the British Museum, and the Bibliothèque Nationale). This 1629 edition has an engraved title-page, unsigned, that is closely copied from that of 1619. According to the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, later editions were published by J. Jansson in 1634 and 1647 and by J. Blaeu in 1649.

I am indebted to Dr. F. T. Bowers for directing my attention to the Dutch engraving and to F. C. Francis, Esq., Mr. William A. Jackson, Dr. Clarence S. Brigham, and Mr. P. G. Morrison for assistance in securing photostats and collecting other information about the Jansson editions.

3. *Censura Literaria* (1808), vi, 132-33, 135.

4. It has been hinted that the entry in *Censura Literaria* is a fabrication of the sort frequently attributed to John Payne Collier—cf. Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-62.

the book was taken apart and then rebound in green niger. On blank leaf C^{6v}, written in a childish scrawl as part of a doggerel statement of ownership, is the name of Thomas Hickman. The collation appears to be, C⁶ A-F¹² (F₁₂, possibly a blank, wanting). Leaves "C₁/6 were not conjugate, each having been backed with heavy wove paper. For this reason the collation . . . cannot be entirely certain; but the exact correspondence of chain-lines made it appear highly probable that these two leaves had originally been conjugate . . . All other pairs of leaves were normally conjugate except F₂/11, F₃/10, of which there was every reason to believe that they had originally been conjugate."⁵ Contents: C₁, engraved title; C₄, blank; C₂-6₁, "OVID DEFENDED"; C^{6v}, blank; A₁-F₁₁, the text; F₁₂, blank. Pp. [xii] + 141.

It will be noticed immediately that the Folger copy lacks a leaf bearing the head of Ovid engraved in an oval, with verses beneath. Probably this was a frontispiece which was lost at the time the little book lost its front cover.⁶ The title-page is exactly as Haslewood described it, and the prefatory defense of Ovid begins, as Haslewood said it did, with a translation from the concluding lines of Book XV of the *Metamorphoses*. These points have been conjecturally called in question, and it is doing simple justice to Haslewood to affirm his accuracy. The first sentence of "Ovid Defended" is identical in the editions of 1621 and 1626,⁷ except that the words "from detraction" have been added in line 3 of the later edition. In the 12mo, the second sentence is as follows:

And, in that the traduced may with modesty enough
report their owne merits, I will first begin with

5. Quoted from the bibliographical note by my colleague, Dr. Giles E. Dawson, Curator of Books and Manuscripts, which is inserted at the end of the volume. Similar signed notes are placed in every old book which is rebound at the Folger. The old calf cover is mounted inside the rear cover.

6. If the frontispiece was printed on leaf F₁₂

which was then detached and prefixed to the book, its loss would be readily accounted for.

7. Upon his return from Virginia in 1626, Sandys published in a small folio his translation of all fifteen books—see below. See further Davis, *op. cit.*, and also his "George Sandys' 'Ovid,'" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d. Ser., rv (1947), 297-304.

a OVID'S SELFE-CENSVRE.

Now haue I ended, what the Thunders rage,
 Nor fire, nor steele shall raze, nor eating Age.
 Come when it wil my death's vncertayn houre;
 Which o're this body onely hath a powre.
 Yet shall my better part transcend the skie:
 And my immortall Name shall neuer die.
 For, wheresoe're the Roman Egles spred
 Their conquering wings, I shall of all be read.
 And, if we Prophets true presages giue;
 I, in my fame, eternally shall liue.⁸

The reference "a," is identified on ¶6^r as "L. 15 in fin." The preface continues: "A prediction already confirmed by many lustres of Ages. Heare we now that accurate Orator, MARCUS ANNÆVS SENECA." The section continues as in 1626 until ERASMUS is reached, where the earlier edition provides an ampler testimony. After STEPHANUS, 1626 inserts MARCUS ANTONIUS TRITONIUS and BERNARDUS MARTINUS. There are occasional variations in the wording of the transitional sentences.

Though the book was originally entered in the registers of the Company of Stationers to Matthew Lownes and William Barrett on 27 April 1621,⁹ the engraved title-page of the second

8. Readers may wish to compare this 1621 version with the translation that appears at the end of the folio of 1626:

And now the Work is ended, which, *Loue's* rage,
 Nor Fire, nor Sword shall raze, nor eating Age.
 Come when it will my deaths vncertain howre;
 Which onely of my body hath a powre:
 Yet shall my better Part transcend the skie;
 And my immortall name shall neuer die.
 For, where-so-ere the *Roman* Eagles spread
 Their conquering wings, I shall of all be read:
 And, if we Prophets truly can diuine,
 I, in my liuing Fame, shall euer shine.

9. Arber's reprint, iv, 53. (If Haslewood had had access to the Stationers' Registers, he might have guessed that the first edition was

almost certainly dated 1621.) This is the first entry of Sandys's translation. The compilers of the *S.T.C.* err, as pointed out by Russell H. Barker, *T.L.S.*, 27 Sept. 1934, p. 655, and again by R. B. Davis, "Early Editions," p. 259, note 14, in identifying Sandys's work with the one entered to Jonas Man on 23 February 1617/18. The earlier book, "Ouids metamorphosis grammaticalie translated by John Bringsley" is in fact *S.T.C.* 18963, of which two copies (British Museum and Folger) are extant. Printed by Humphrey Lownes for Thomas Mar in 1618, it is a textbook translation of *Metamorphoses*, Bk. I, by the celebrated teacher and Puritan divine, John Brinsley.

Davis, *loc. cit.*, mistakenly credits the entry of 23 Feb. 1617/18 to "master Lownes";

edition names only W[illiam] B[arrett].^{9a} The printer of this edition is unknown, and no guesses as to his identity can be hazarded because the book contains no printer's devices, no ornaments, and no initial letters. From the date of the second edition, it is obvious that the book was popular, for a reprint was called for within twelve months of the date of entry.

The relationship between the second edition of 1621 and the folio of 1626 is very close. In the preliminaries, for example, the edition of 1626 has on the verso of the leaf of dedication an engraving that has for its central feature the head of Ovid in an oval, with verses beneath; this corresponds to the engraving described by Haslewood but now wanting in the Folger copy of the 1621 edition. Each edition has an engraved title-page, but these differ radically. And each edition has a section entitled, "Ovid Defended."¹⁰ It is in the texts of the translation that the editions most closely resemble each other. These may be minutely collated for page after page without discovery of even a literal difference. From time to time, the compositors of the 1621 edition were forced by the length of a line to use an ampersand or to indicate the omission of "n" or "m" by printing a vowel with a tilde.¹¹ Occasionally 1626 corrects a typographical error in 1621¹² or introduces one.¹³ Sandys de-

instead the entry was to Jonas Man "vnder the
handes of Master Lownes senior warden."

9a. Until a copy of the first edition of 1621 is discovered, it cannot be known whether the words "edit:zd." were added to the plate at the time the book was reprinted, or even whether the first edition had an engraved title. But certain minor differences in the formation of the letters suggest the possibility that "edit:zd." is an addition. If so, the insertion did not crowd the adjacent lines unpleasantly, but it should be noted that the absence of "edit:zd." would not spoil the appearance of the page.

10. See note 8 above for detailed comparison. I wish to record my indebtedness to my colleague, Dr. E. E. Willoughby, for several sug-

gestions and to my son, James G. McManaway, Jr., for valuable assistance.

11. Cf. 1621, p. 20, line 27:

To streams, & gentle Nymphs that streams frequet.

and 1626, p. 15, line 32:

To streams, and gentle Nymphs that streams frequent.

12. Cf. 1621, p. 8, line 10:

Nor rhine, for Thee, lesse thought,
Augustus, tooke,
with 1626, p. 6, line 13:

Nor thine, for Thee, less thought,
Augustus, tooke,

13. Cf. 1621, p. 9, line 4:

An other part on hissing Embers broyles.
with 1626, p. 6, line 39:

An other patt on hissing Embers broyles;

voted much attention to smoothing the metre of the lines in the edition of 1626, frequently altering the spelling of a dissyllabic word to insure that it should be pronounced as a monosyllable and eliding e's and o's before vowels or the letter h.¹⁴ Otherwise, except for verbal changes or alterations in the translation, which will be discussed together in another connection, the text of the first five books of the 1626 edition agrees to a remarkable degree with that of the edition of 1621. Only in the reprinting of Bibles, I think, will such literal correspondence be found in other seventeenth-century books.

If this be true, it follows that a corrected copy of the second edition of 1621 must have been supplied to the printer in 1626 for the use of his compositors,^{14a} and the accuracy of the reprint suggests that Sandys read the proofs zealously. Now if a copy of the second edition of 1621 was used as printer's copy in 1626, it is a safe presumption not only that this second edition was an exceptionally faithful reprint of the first edition of 1621 but that the latter was printed from a manuscript supplied by Sandys himself. It would follow that Sandys planned the book and its engravings in conjunction with his publishers, William Barrett and Matthew Lownes.¹⁵

While Sandys was in Virginia, William Barrett died, and on 3 April 1626, his relict, Mistress Barrett, conveyed to John Parker her rights in a number of books, including Sandys's *Ovid*.¹⁶ Then, a little more than one month later, William

14. Cf. 1621, p. 40, l. 17:

Nor lesse the *Heliades* lament; who shead
with 1626, p. 30, l. 19.

Nor lesse th' *Heliades* lament; who shead
or 1621, p. 67, l. 10:

To his Browe th' antlers of long-living
Harts:

with 1626, p. 50, l. 20:

T' his Browe th' antlers of long-living
Harts:

14a. It is possible that 1626 was set from a copy
of the lost first edition. If so, the printer of
the second edition must have worked with

remarkable accuracy, for the close correspondence observable between the editions of 1621 and 1626 is rarely found in two independent printings of a copy text.

15. The fact that one of the publishers, Lownes, to whom the first edition of 1621 was entered was a warden of the Company lends additional weight to my belief that the 1621 venture was not piratical, as has been more than once suggested.

16. Arber, iv, 157-58.

Stansby entered “*A booke Called Ovid's Metamorphosis XV bookes, in English verse by George Sandes.*”¹⁷ Although the imprint on the engraved title-page names neither printer nor publisher and the colophon reads, “Printed by William Stansby 1626,” it may be presumed that Stansby served as publisher of this edition, for in 1626 Sandys expected to return shortly to Virginia. He probably assumed that his rights in the book were fully protected by the pregnant words, “*Cum Priuilegio,*” engraved on the title-page. This phrase alludes to letters patent granted by King Charles to Sandys on 24 April 1626¹⁸ that gave him exclusive publishing rights for twenty-one years.¹⁹ These rights he had to assert within two years, for Robert Young published an octavo reprint of the complete translation early in 1628.

The details of the transaction by which Young became possessed of rights in the book are obscure. Matthew Lownes was dead before 10 April 1627, for on that date many of his titles were transferred to his son Thomas,²⁰ but not the *Ovid*. Soon after, Thomas Lownes conveyed a large group of books to Humphrey Lownes and Robert Young,²¹ but again the *Ovid* is not named. Yet the minutes of Court Book C, are explicit in their statement that “the assignm^t to Robt Younge . . . shalbe . . . Crost out of the Regester Booke of the Company.” It must be assumed that in a private and unrecorded transaction²² Matthew Lownes had before his death transferred to Young his interest in *The First Five Bookes*, as recorded long before on 27 April 1621, and that Young had, somewhat

17. 7 May 1626. See Arber, iv, 160.

18. A typographical error in *D.N.B.* causes Sir Sidney Lee to seem to date this grant 1621, to the confusion of scholarship.

19. Noted by Alexander Brown, *Genesis of the U. S.* (1840), II, 994; Davis cites the edition of 1880.

20. Arber, iv, 176.

21. On 30 May 1627; cf. Arber, iv, 180.

22. For a preliminary discussion of this and other interesting points of copyright practice, see Giles E. Dawson, “The Copyright of Shakespeare's Dramatic Works,” in *Studies in Honor of A. H. R. Fairchild*, ed. C. T. Prouty, The University of Missouri Studies xxxi (1946), 12-14. The subject is treated at greater length in his forthcoming essay, “Copyright of Plays in the Early Seventeenth Century,” in *The English Institute Annual*, 1947 (Columbia University Press).

unethically perhaps, taken advantage of this right in five books to reprint the complete translation of fifteen books.

The wording of the minute in the Court Book suggests that, though he had provided Stansby with a copy of the 1621 edition to print from in 1626, Sandys considered his Fifteen Books an independent publication and that he gave no compensation to John Parker, who had acquired William Barrett's rights in *The First Five Bookes*, or to Matthew Lownes, who had transferred his rights in the duodecimo to Robert Young.²³ It is my belief, as stated above, that William Stansby, printer of the folio of 1626, probably served only as Sandys's agent. But the outraged poet took no chances when he made his demands upon the Company of Stationers: the minute records that

Mr Sandes Patent for the sole printing of the 15. bookes of Ovides Metamorphosis by him translated into English verse was openlye reade in the hall this quarter day. And it is ordered that th' entrance of M^r Barret and M^r Lownes deceased of the first five bookes and the assignm^t to Robt Younge, and the Entrance of the whole 15. bookes to mr Stansby shalbe all Crost out of the Regester Booke of the Company for that noe man shall laye anie claime to the printing of the same or any pte thereof.²⁴

And so it was done, but the transfer of Mistress Barrett's rights to Parker was somehow overlooked.

Between the years 1621 and 1626 Sandys made a number of revisions of his translation of the first five books of the *Metamorphoses*. Some of these appear to have been introduced for the purpose of improving the accuracy of the translation. Thus the reading of 1621 (p. 9, line 24), "Or must th' Earth be by saluages possest?" is changed in 1626 to "Must Earth be onely by wild beasts possest?" (*Met.* i. 249, ferisne paret populandas tradere

²³. It is possible, of course, that Young acquired these rights prior to Sandys's return to London in 1626 and that some arrangement should have been made with him instead of with Lownes.

²⁴. See Davis, "Early Editions," pp. 270-71, for this text and an account of later troubles that beset Sandys.

terras). Again, "trembling" (1621, p. 80, line 28) is corrected to "wrathfull" (cf. *Met.* III. 577, *ira tremendos*), and "Epogus" (1621, p. 82, line 13) to "Epopeus" (cf. *Met.* III. 619).

More frequently Sandys amended his translation to improve the Latin pronunciation of proper names. In 1621 (p. 23, line 31), Pleias is trisyllabic, with the accent on the second syllable:

But, calls his sonne, of bright *Pleias* bred;

in 1626 both syllabification and accent are changed:

But, calls his sonne, of fulgent *Pleias* bred;

(*Met.* I. 670, *Pleias enixa est letoque det imperat Argum*).

In one case at least, Sandys corrected the pronunciation of one name at the expense of another. In 1621 (p. 36, line 13), he was not satisfied with his rendition of "Citheron":

Mycale, with the sacred *Citheron*:

so he revised it to

High *Mycale*, diuine *Cithaeron*, wast:

(cf. *Met.* II. 223, *Dindymaque et Mycale natusque ad sacra Cithaeron*),

thus doing violence to the pronunciation of "Mycale."

Some of the revisions entail the rewriting of a complete line or even a couplet. The ravishment of Io, (I. 599-600) is rendered thus in 1621 (p. 21, lines 21-22):

With darknesse he the Earth enveloped;
And catching her, inforc't her Maiden-head.

In 1626, the couplet is changed to read:

He in the Aire a sable cloud displai'd,
Caught, and devirginat's the strugling Maid.

The account of Phaeton's conversation with Apollo (*Met.* II. 33-34) appears in 1621 (p. 29, lines 27-28) as follows:

What brought thee hither, *Phaeton*, said hee,
My dearest sonne? well worthy so to bee.

In 1626, the passage is altered thus:

Who said, What hether drew thee *Phaeton*,
Who art, and worthily my dearest Son?

Once Sandys rewrites a passage (*Met.* III. 185-88) to secure greater precision and compression. In 1621 (p. 66, line 31—p. 67, line 3), five lines are required:

When from her aged Love shee takes her flight:
Such was *Diana's*, taken in that plight.
Although inuiron'd by her Virgin trayne,
Shee side-long turneth, casting with disdayne
A killing looke; and wisht her deadly Bowe:

Three lines suffice in 1626:

Such flusht in *Dians* cheeks, being naked tane.
And though inuiron'd by her Virgin trayne,
Shee side-long turnes, looks back, and wisht her bow: . . .

The later version profits by the removal of the couplet that elaborates the reference in the preceding line to "rosie Morn," and in this revision Elizabethan exuberance can be seen yielding to classical correctness. Other examples might be cited of Sandys's efforts to polish his lines, but these indicate the care he expended on the translation.

Now that the finding of a copy of the second edition of *The First Five Bookes of Ovids Metamorphosis* has cleared Joseph Haslewood of charges of inaccuracy (or worse) and thrown new light on the history of Sandys's famous translation, it remains to inquire once again whether this book in the edition of 1626 may be considered the first published verse in the English language which was written on the mainland of North America.²⁵ The answer must be given in the negative. Another "American" poem preceded it by fully three years. In *Catalogue*

²⁵. Professor Davis has demonstrated that although Books vi-xv were translated on the voyage to America or while Sandys was in residence in Virginia, the first explicit refer-

ences to the American scene occur in the commentary of the edition of 1631—cf. his "America in George Sandys' 'Ovid,'" cited above.

77, *A Selection of Extremely Rare and Important Printed Books and Ancient Manuscripts* issued early in 1948 by the London firm of William H. Robinson Ltd., item 98 is a broadside ballad entitled, "Good Newes from Virginia . . ."²⁶ This was published without date in London "for John Trundle," but the title informs us that the poem was "Sent from *Jameſ* his Towne this present moneth of March, 1623 by a Gentleman in that Country." Since the ballad gives a highly circumstantial account of the Indian massacre of 1622, the date is probably accurate and the attribution of authorship correct. The author may have been "a Gentleman," but surely his literary attainments were of the slightest, if the ballad is a fair measure. The first stanza is typical:

No English heart, but heard with griefe
 the massacre here done:
 And how by sauage trecheries,
 full many a mothers sonne:
 But God that gaue them power and leauē,
 their cruelties to vse,
 Hath giuen them vp into our hands,
 who English did abuse.

There is no need to detail the evidence of the author's first-hand knowledge of events. The ballad may be read in the facsimile provided in the bookseller's catalogue. It has, moreover, been available to scholars and historians in another form for eight years, having been reproduced as Number 105 in "Photostat Americana, Second Series," in May 1940 from the copy in the Public Record Office in London.²⁷

Appropriately enough, this rare ballad, generally over-

26. The ballad is to be sung to the tune of "All those that be good fellowes." It consists of two parts, the first of eight stanzas, and the second of fourteen stanzas. Below the title are a woodcut of a ship and another of an armed man, surveying the corpses that lie at his feet.

27. Reproductions are available in the fifteen American libraries that subscribe to "Photostat Americana." The stanza quoted below is printed by Davis, "Early Editions," p. 265, from E. D. Neill, *Virginia vetusta* (1885), 147-48.

looked by literary historians, includes a fine tribute to George Sandys:

Stout Master George Sands vpon a night,
did brauely venture forth:
And mong'st the sauage murtherers,
did forme a deed of worth.
For finding many by a fire,
to death their liues they pay:
Set fire of a Towne of theires,
and brauely came away.

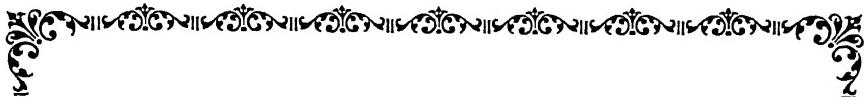
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The Art of Selling Books: *Notes
on three Aldus Catalogues, 1586-1592*

by

RUDOLF HIRSCH

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA



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INTRODUCTION

CONVENTIONAL histories of literature and orthodox bibliography have paid scant attention to the reaction of the reading public to book production. Sociologists, public opinion analysts, and commercial interests have recognized the importance of current problems of "literary taste." What are the reasons for the neglect of the historical aspects of readers' reactions? The scarcity of objective data would appear to be the obvious explanation. However, we possess a mass of information which can profitably be utilized in analyzing the reception by the public of specific titles or groups of publications. The first and main sources are data on the periodicity, or frequency of republication, a barometer of public appeal, which can be assembled with comparative ease by the scholar well trained in the use of bibliographical tools. Another, more obscure source, is found in the advertisements and catalogues issued by publishers and bookdealers with some frequency since the 15th century. Specimens of this latter type are the subject of this paper.

The firm of Aldus, founded in 1494 by Aldo Manuzio and continued successfully by his son Paolo, fell into comparative decline under his grandson Aldo Manuzio, the Younger. From 1581 on, the business was conducted largely by Niccolo Ma-

nassi who, in the words of Renouard,¹ exploited "non sans quelque capacité, l'immense réputation de cette typographie célèbre." Renouard who takes a somewhat dim view of Manassi's stewardship, comments on him, under the year 1586, as follows: "L'imprimerie, régie par Nicolas Manassi . . . se trouve réduite à bien peu de chose. Il paroît que son exploitation se bornoit presque à la vente du peu de livres restés en magasin." This statement is not entirely correct. His activities as a publisher, between the years 1581 and 1586, compare not unfavorably with those of the younger Aldus. That more than a few books were still in stock becomes evident upon examination of the "Libri di stampa d'Aldo che si trovano al presente" (see illustrations). It seems, however, true that Manassi was eager to reduce the stock at hand; or so we deduce from his use, from 1586 on, of a new kind of sales catalogues, published as appendices of the firm's regular publications. As far as could be ascertained, he was the first to use his own publications as vehicles for advertising the remaining, unsold stock. This technique, used today on book jackets, common in books during the 19th century, is generally associated with English 17th century printers who used it to promote the sale of dramatic publications.²

Little or no attention has been paid to the sales catalogues of Aldus, though Renouard mentioned them, had seen 23, and listed 21.³ He reprints the sales catalogue found in LeRoy, 1592 (R.248, 3) "parce qu'il est un des plus amples"; he refers to it as the sixth Aldus catalogue. Five earlier publishers' lists of the firm were printed separately, and issued in the years 1498, 1503, 1513 (two catalogues) and 1563. The 1586-1598 series, of

1. A. A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Aldes*. (Paris, 1834) 3rd ed., p. 341 n.

2. Cf. E. M. Albright, *Dramatic publications in England, 1580-1640* (New York, 1927), p. 391: *The Careless Shepherdess*, 1656; *Tom Tyler and his Wife*, 1661.

3. Renouard 237,1 (1586); 240,4 (1588); 242,8, 243,12 (1589); 244,2-4, 246,11 (1590); 246,1-2,5, 247,6 (1591); 248,2-4,6, 249,12 (1592); 252,1 (1594); 252,2-3 (1595); 254,1 (1598).

which our sales catalogues are part, covers a comparatively short period. Its catalogues are characterized by the fact that they were printed as part of regular publications, and list only items still available ("che si trovano"), and therefore unsold. By examining items not sold, in the light of total production, we can arrive at an estimate of the attitude of the reading public towards Aldus publications. Since items—except for pre-publication announcements—are priced, a comparison of the sales catalogues provides data on book price variations. Finally, the listing itself is brief and not too clear, as was customary for all early bibliographies and catalogues; nevertheless, sufficient points of some bibliographical value have been clarified, beyond the information previously supplied in the comprehensive study of Renouard, to justify further investigation of such sales catalogues.

The designation "nuovo" (or "nuova," "nuovi") found following the indication of size in the 1586 and 1589 catalogues, remains a riddle. The most likely interpretation is that it refers to reprint editions, an explanation which holds true for a majority of items designated "nuovo." It cannot mean recent publications, since the imprints cover the range from 1575 to 1589. It may mean new, as against second-hand copies, but this is highly doubtful, since it is assumed that most items advertised were available in several copies, as must definitely be the case for the 1586-1589 imprints, just off the press and presumably all new. It seems unlikely that "nuovo" refers to a special kind of size, since it is used in connection with folio, 4to, 8vo and 16mo.

Sales catalogues chosen here for the comparative study are those printed in Armandus, *Declaratio* (1586)⁴ and Bobali, *Rime* (1589)⁵. The relative position of individual items in those catalogues is indicated in the tabular presentation, preceding the price. Data from the LeRoy list of 1592 have been added to

4. Printed on leaf Aa4, recto and verso.

5. Printed on the verso of leaf Y4.

**I Libri di stampa d'Aldo, che si trouano
al presente.**

- Amando Belluissi declaratio difficilium terminorum Theologie & philologice aquae Logice. **L** f. 4
Aetonus Pedanius Comment. in Octo. tiones M. T. C. s. **L** f. 15
Amata faula Bolgarecca di Torquato Tasso con Figure. **L** f. 12.
L f. 6
Andrea Bacci dell'uso, & bona dell'acque, & modo di beuer frasco. **A**.
Aeffiglata nuova, & Cafa di Villa di Carlo Stefano. **A**.
L f. 3. f. 10
Aggiunta alle Rime, & Prose del Tasso, con il suo ritratto. **R.**
L f. 8
Andrea Bacci dell'uso, & bona dell'acque, & modo di beuer frasco. **A**.
Aeffiglata nuova, & Cafa di Villa di Carlo Stefano. **A**.
L f. 2.
Agostino Latone con figure. **G**.
Idem Volgaro figurato, in **G**.
Censorius de die Natali, ab Aldo Manutii Iuniori emendatus. **G**.
De Perfectione hominem, Philippo Moenicii. fol.
De Natura Deorum, Io. Leucritui Anania. **G**.
De Senatu, & Antiquitate Romanorum, Pauli Manutii. in **4**.
L f. 1. f. 4
Declaratio difficilium terminorum Philologiz Theologiae, aquae Logice. **G**
De Laudibus Virtutis iustitiae Aldo Iuniorum. **4**
Eliosome orthographia Aldi Iunioris. **G**
Epiphonis Innotegni Amm. Pauli Clarissimo. **4**
Epiphoni A. P. Ioanne Nunicio. **G**
Epitole Pauli Manutii. **G**
Epitole Aldi Ciceronis Fam. cum P. Manutii Comment. fol.
L f. 9. f. 6
Idea ad T. Pomponium Atticum, cum P. Manutii Comment. fol. nuova.
Ad Atticu nouigare. **S**
Familiar Latine con tauole nuova. **L** f. 10
Elogio dell'ingegno dell'uomo per apprender le Scienze, con tauola. **S**, nuova
Elegante insieme con la Copia della lingua Toscana, e Latina, **L** f. 10
Idolo Giovanni, 16 nuova
Foro ouero trattato della Nobilità, di Torquato Tasso. **L** f. 12.
L f. 10
- Galeni opera Graeca. In **Ab**. **L** f. 49. f. 12
- Germani Anthelii Venetii. **4**, nuova.
Herculanum. Faeri de bello Sicambrico. **L** f. 15
Herculus Crofani Com. in Ouidii Metamorph. **S**. **L** f. 15
Iouris Rapiti de numeris Ootatio. in fol. **L** f. 10
Ioua Parte Mieurus, & Ponderibus, in fol, con figure. **L** f. 15
Locatio dell'Apofote Fam. Scritte da Aldo Gioane in 16. no-
us. **L** f. 15
Locatione dell'Apofote Fam. Scritte da Aldo Gioane in 16. no-
us. **L** f. 15
Modi famigliari di dire, scelti da Aldo Gioane, & noua.
L f. 3 f. 12
- Nuova Tafpa. & aerata Militare in fol. **L** f. 3 f. 12
- Quatuor M. T. C. Pauli Manutii Comment. Pianino, secondo, &
terzotomo, fol. **L** f. 18 f. 12
- Orographia M. T. C. Aldi Manutii Iunioris Comment. fol. **L** f. 6
- Ortoptoma Manutiana in tauole nuova. **L** f. 6
- Officina Romana con 44. Imagini in rame. **L** f. 7 f. 6
- Officina Romana con 44. Imagini in rame. **L** f. 7 f. 6
- Officinazione intorno alle Bellezze della lingua latina in 16. no-
ue. **L** f. 15
- Opera Ciceronis cum novo Manutiorum Comment. X. volumi.
fol. suoi. **L** f. 62 f.
- Orationes M. Antonii Mureti. **S**. **L** f. 4
- Off. M. T. C. cū Aldi Manutii Iunioris Comm. fol. **L** f. 10
- Pragmatica del Regno di Napoli, in fol. **L** f. 7 f. 6
- Prudite di Farnesia, di Torquato Tasso. **L** f. 1
- Prudite di Farnesia, di Torquato Tasso. **L** f. 1
- Prudite di Farnesia, di Torquato Tasso. **L** f. 1
- Prudite di Farnesia, di Torquato Tasso. **L** f. 1
- Quatuorthes Grammaticales, Nicodemo Frischino, & nuova. **L** f. 10
- Rinaldo Innamorato di Torquato Tasso con figure, & tauole. **L** f. 15
- Rettorica Aldi Manutii Iunioris Comment. fol. nuova. **L** f. 15
- Rimae & Prose di Torquato Tasso, con figure, prima, & seconda
Parte. **L** f. 12
- Statuti Operar. in **S**. **L** f. 3 f. 10
- Stringili Grammatica Nicodemo Frischino, & nuova. **L** f. 10
- Tritato della Demonomana, ouero Streghie, di Io. Bodino. **A**
Temptatio hora. **A**. **L** f. 8
- Tragedia Cacifl. di Carlo Turchi. & nuova. **L** f. 8
- Venitidure o Mutabile Varietate delle cose nell'universo vol-
gata, 4, nuova. **L** f. 10
- Vigilio con Annotationsi & Tauole. **S**. **L** f. 10
- Item Terzo con Figure. **S**. **L** f. 10
- Item Terzo con Figure. **S**. **L** f. 10
- Vita Colimo de Medo, afferita da Aldo Junior fol. **L** f. 6. f. 4
- Vita Sancti Antonii, surri, & Lipomanii, fol. copie. **V. Iuol.** **L** f. 49 f. 15
- Venit del mondo, Laurentio Gianninaeo. **4**
L f. 15

Libri di stampa d'Aldo, che si trouano al presente.

1	Armadi Belouisij Declaratio difficulter terminorū Theologiz, Philosoph. atq; Log.	L	1	f.	10
2	Aesconius Pedianus Comment. in Orationes M. T. C. 8.	L	1	f.	35
3	Aminta favola Boscareccia di Torquato Tasso con Figure , 12.	L	1	f.	6
4	Andrea Bacci, dell'uso, & bon à dell'acque, & modo di beuer fresco, 4.	L	2	f.	10
5	Agricoltura nuova, & Cesa di Villa di Carlo Stefano, 4.	L	3	f.	10
6	Aggiunta alle Rime, & Prose del Tasso, con il suo ritratto, 12.	L	3	f.	3
7	Breuarium Romanum, in 8. Roma .	L	3	f.	10
8	Comedia Straccioni del Commendator Annibal Caro, 12.	L	3	f.	6
9	— Agnella di Carlo Turchi, 3.	L	1	f.	8
10	Catechismo Latino con figure, 8.	L	2	f.	10
11	— Idem Volgare figurato, in 8.	L	2	f.	10
12	Comment. Caesaris cum scholijs, & additionibus Aldi Iunioris, 8. nuouo.	L	3	f.	10
13	Censorinus de die Natali, ab Aldo Manutio iuniori emendatus, 8.	L	1	f.	23
14	De Perfectione hominum, Philippi Mocenici, fol.	L	7	f.	10
15	De Fafcino D. Leonardo Vairo Beneventano, in 8. nuouo.	L	1	f.	10
16	De Natura Daemonum, Io Laurentij Ananix, 8. nuouo.	L	1	f.	25
17	De Quæstis per Epistolam, Aldi Iunioris, 8.	L	1	f.	4
18	De Senatu, & Antiquitatim Romanarum, Pauli Manutij. in 4.	L	1	f.	4
19	Discorsi della Penitenza sopra i Sette Salmi di Nicolo Vito di Gozze figurato, in 8. nuouo .	L	2	f.	10
20	Epitome Orthographia, Aldi Iunioris, 8.	L	1	f.	4
21	Epitome Innouationis Anri , Pauli Claramis, 4.	L	1	f.	8
22	Epistola Pauli Manutij, 16.nuoue .	L	1	f.	10
23	Epistola M.T.Ciceronis Fam.cum P.Manutij Comment. fol. nuoue .	L	10	f.	10
24	— Idem ad T. Poinponium Atticum, cum P.Manutij Comment. fol.	L	9	f.	6
25	— Familiar Latine con tauole nuoue.	L	1	f.	10
26	Fissame dell'ingegno dell'uomo per apprender le scienze, con tauola, 8.	L	1	f.	10
27	Eleganze insieme con la Copia della lingua Toscana e Latina, d'Aldo giouane. 16.	L	1	f.	4
28	Forno ouero trattato della Nobiltà , di Torquato Tasso , 12.	L	1	f.	10
29	Germani Antiberi Venetias , 4.	L	1	f.	10
30	Gouverno della Famiglia di Nicolo Vito di Gozze, 8. nuouo .	L	1	f.	10
31	Herculis Ciosani Comment. in Ouidij Metamorph.S.	L	1	f.	4
32	Luca Pati de menfis, & Ponderibus , in fol.con figure .	L	1	f.	10
33	Locutioni dell'Epistole Fam.Scilie da Aldo Giouane, in 16.	L	1	f.	4
34	Lettere Facete, & piacevoli di diversi Autofi primo, & secondo libro, 8.	L	3	f.	10
35	Modi famigliari di dire, scelti da Aldo Giouane, 8.	L	1	f.	4
36	Noua Disciplina & uera arte militare del Brancaccio, fol.	L	3	f.	10
37	Orationes M.T.C. Pauli Manutij Comment. primo, seconde, & terzo tomo, fol.	L	18	f.	12
38	Ortografia Manutiana in tauole nuoua .	L	1	f.	6
39	Officio Romano con 45. Imagine in rame, in 12.	L	7	f.	10
40	Osservatione intorno alle Bellezze della lingua latina,in 16.nuoue.	L	1	f.	4
41	Opera Ciceronis con noui Manutiorum Comment. X. uolumi, fol.	I	62	f.	10
42	Orationes M. Antonij Muretti, 8.	L	1	f.	4
43	Off.M.T.C con Aldi Manutij Iunioris Comment. fol.	L	4	f.	10
44	Padre di Famiglia, di Torquato Tasso, 12.	L	1	f.	6
45	Philosophia M.T.C.Aldi Manutij Iunioris Comment. fol.	L	9	f.	6
46	Quæstiones Grammaticales , Nicodemo Frischlino, 8.	L	1	f.	10
47	Rinaldo Innamorato di Torquato Tasso con figure, & tauole. 12	L	1	f.	15
48	Rettorica M.T.C. cum Aldo Manutij Iunioris Comment. fol.	L	18	f.	13
49	Rime, & Prose di Torquato Tasso, con figure, prima & seconda parte 12	L	3	f.	10
50	Rime Amoroſe di Sauino Bobali Sordo, 4.nuoue.	L	1	f.	10
51	Strigilis Grammatica Nicodemo Frischlino, 8.	L	1	f.	10
52	Trattato della Demonomania, ouero Streghe, di Io. Bodino in 4.nuoua.	L	4	f.	8
53	Tragedia Calestri di Carlo Turchi,8.	L	1	f.	10
54	Vicissitudine, ò Murabile Varietà delle cose dell'vniverso, uolgar,4.	L	2	f.	10
55	Virgilio con Annotationi, & Tauole, 8.	L	3	f.	10
56	Vita Sanctorum, Surij, & Lipomani, fol.compte.VI.vol.	L	49	f.	12
57	Vanità del mondo, Laurentio Giustinianiano , 4.	L	1	f.	15
58	Vita Cosimo Medici, scritta da Aldo Giouane, fol.	L	6	f.	4

illustrate the sales progress during the three following years. Since the 1592 catalogue includes the dates of printing, it is of particular value in identifying editions in the two earlier catalogues. By re-arranging chronologically the items listed in the sales catalogues of the Armandus and the Bobali, the business success of Manassi and the Aldus family is portrayed somewhat in the fashion of an inventory.

Tabular presentation of publications listed in the sales catalogues of 1586 and 1589, with comparative information from the catalogue of 1592.

SALES CATALOGUE

	1586		1589		1592
	POSITION	PRICE	POSITION	PRICE	PRICE
1519					
1. STATIUS, PUBLIUS PAPINUS. Opera. 8vo. R.88,12	55	1.10	—	—	—
1525					
2. GALEN. Opera. fol. R.101,3 (note 1)	31	49.12	—	—	—
1554					
3. RAPICCIUS, JOVITA. De numero oratorio. fol. R.159,9	35	1.10	—	—	—
1556					
4. TOMITANO, BERNARDINO. Coridon, sive de venetorum laudibus. 8vo. R.168,11	8	0.6	—	—	—
1557					
5. FALLETTI, GIROLAMO. De bello sicambrico. 4to. R.172,13	33	2.0	—	—	—

1. It is interesting to note that Giunta published a Galen edition in 1586.

SALES CATALOGUE

	1586		1589		1592
	POSITION	PRICE	POSITION	PRICE	PRICE
1563 (18)					
6. ASCONIUS PEDIANUS, QUINTUS. Explanatio in Ciceronis orationes in C. Verrem. 8vo. R.189,11	2	0.15	2	0.15	0.15
1564 (24)					
1565 (18)					
1566 (20)					
1567 (14)					
1568 (9)					
7. BREVIARIUM ROMANUM. Rome. 8vo. R.204.2 (note 2)	7	3.10	7	3.10	—
1569 (15)					
8. CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS. Epistolae ad T. Pomponium Atticum, volgare. 8vo. R.206,8	26	2.10	—	—	—
9. —, supposed author. Rheticorum libri IV. 8vo. R.207,13	—	—	—	—	2.10
1570 (24)					
10. NUNNESIUS, PETRUS IOANNES. Epitheta M. T. Ciceronis. 8vo. R.209,13	22	2.0	—	—	2.0
1571 (13)					
1572 (11)					
1573 (12)					
11. PAETUS, LUCAS. De mensuris et ponderibus. fol. R.216,11 (note 3)	36	1.10	32	1.10	1.10

2. The *Breviarium*, 1568, in fol., apparently sold out.

3. Quarto edition, 1573, apparently sold out.

SALES CATALOGUE

	1586		1589		1592
	POSITION	PRICE	POSITION	PRICE	PRICE
1574 (7)					
1575 (19)					
12. MANUZIO, ALDO, the Younger. Epitome orthographiae. 8vo. R.218,6	20	1.0	20	1.4	(1590 ed.)
13. CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS. Epistolae familiares. 8vo. R.219,9	27	2.0	25	2.10	2.10
14. CIOFANUS, HERCULES. In P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphosin . . . observationes. 8vo. R.219,12	34	0.15	31	1.0	1.0
1576 (16)					
15. BACCI, ANDREA. Del tevere, ne' quali si tratta della natura, & bontà dell' acque. 4to. R.222,3	4	2.0	4	2.10	2.10
16. MANUZIO, ALDO Pio. Institutionum grammaticarum libri IV. 8vo. R.222,4	—	—	—	—	1.10
17. MURET, MARC ANTOINE. Orationes et hymni. 8vo. R.223,10	46	1.4	42	1.4	1.4
18. MANUZIO, ALDO, the Younger. De quaesitis. 8vo. R.223,13	16	1.0	17	1.4	1.4
19. CLARANTES, PAULUS. Epitome in librum de paschalis chronologia. 4to. R.224,15	21	0.8	21	0.8	0.8
1577 (3)					

SALES CATALOGUE

	1586		1589		1592
	POSITION	PRICE	POSITION	PRICE	PRICE
1578 (6)					
CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS. Orationes. v. 1. fol. R.225,3 See 1579					
20. CONTARINI, GASPARO. Opera. fol. R225,5	—	—	—	—	9.0
1579 (8)					
21. GIUSTINIANO, LORENZO (ST. LAWRENCE). Del dispregio del mondo et sue vanità. 4to. R.225,1	64	1.15	57	1.15	1.15
22. CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS. Orationes. 3 v. (1578- 1579) fol. R.225,3;226,4	41	18.12	37	18.12	18.12
1580 (9)					
23. NAPLES. Pragmatice, edicta, regiaeque sanctiones Nea- politani regni. fol. R.227,1	48	7.0	—	—	—
24. MANUZIO, PAOLO. Episto- larum libri. 16mo. Not in R. (note 4)	23	2.0	22	1.10	—
1581 (12)					
25. ANANIA, GIOVANNI LO- RENZO. De natura dae- monum. 8vo. R.228,2	15	0.13	16	(1589 ed.)	—
26. MOCENICUS, PHILIPPUS. Universales institutiones ad hominum perfectio- nem. fol. R.228,3	14	7.0	14	7.0	7.0

4. R.228.8 (1580): "Il y a sous cette même date deux éditions, desquelles, au reste, le choix est tout-à-fait indifférent." Since he describes only an edition in 8vo, this is either an error, or, if truly an edition in 16mo, it is unknown to R.

SALES CATALOGUE

	1586		1589		1592
	POSITION	PRICE	POSITION	PRICE	PRICE
27. ESTIENNE, CHARLES. L'agricoltura. 4to. R.228,4	5	3.10	5	3.10	(1591 ed.)
28. CENSORINUS. De die natali. 8vo. R.229,5	13	0.12	13	0.12	0.12
29. CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS. De officiis (etc.) fol. R.229,7	47	4.10	43	4.10	4.10
30. LIPPOMANO, LUIGI. De vitis sanctorum. 6 v. fol. R.230,11	63	49.12	56	49.12	49.12
31. MANUZIO, PAOLO. Antiquitatum romanorum liber de senatu. 4to. R.230,12	17	1.4	18	1.4	1.4
1582 (10)					
32. CATECHISMUS. 8vo. R.230,1	11	2.0	10	2.0	2.0
33. CATECHISMO. 8vo. R.230,2	12	2.0	11	2.0	2.0
34. CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS. Epistolae familiares. fol. R.231,4	24	9.6	23	10.10	10.10
35. ——Epistolae ad T. Pomponium Atticum. fol. R.231,5	25	9.6	24	9.6	9.6
36. CARO, ANNIBALE. Gli stracci. 12mo. R.231,8	9	0.6	8	(1589 ed.?)	—
37. ATANAGI, DIONIGI and F. TURCHI. Delle lettere, facete e piaceroli. 1575?-1582. 2 v. R.231,9 (v. 1 only) (note 5)	38	3.0	34	3.10	3.10

5. R. does not know a reprint of v.2; v.2 may therefore be a "remainder" from the 1575 edition, or it is unknown to R.

SALES CATALOGUE

	1586		1589		1592
	POSITION	PRICE	POSITION	PRICE	PRICE
1583 (7 and 5)					
(note 6)					
38. CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS. De rhetorica. 2 v. fol. R.232,2	53	18.12	48	18.12	18.12
39. ——— De philosophia. 2 v. fol. R.232,3	50	9.6	45	9.6	9.6
40. ——— Opera. 10 v. [1581] 1582-83. fol. R.232,4 (note 7)	45	62.0	41	62.0	62.0
41. AUDEBERTUS, GERMANUS. Venetiae. 4to. R.233,6	32	2.0	29	2.0	2.0
42. TASSO, TORQUATO. Delle rime e prose parte prima [e seconda] 2 v. 12mo. R.233,7	54	3.0	49	3.0	3.0
43. ——— Aminta. 12mo. R.233,7,I,2	3	0.6	—	(see 1589)	(see 1589)
44. ——— Il Forno. 12mo. R.233,7,I,3	30	0.10	28	0.10	0.10
45. ——— Il Rinaldo innamo- rato. 12mo. R.233,7,II,2	52	0.15	47	0.15	0.15
46. ——— Il padre di famiglia. 12mo. R.233,7,II,3	49	0.6	44	0.6	0.6
1584 (5)					
47. FRISCHLIN, NICODEMUS. Quaestionum grammati- carum libri XII. 8vo. R.234,3	51	1.10	46	1.10	1.10
48. ——— Strigilis gramma- tica. 8vo. R.235,4	56	0.10	51	0.10	0.10

6. 5 Tasso items, part of the *Rime e prose*, but sold separately.

7. Reissue of volumes first issued separately.

SALES CATALOGUE

	1586		1589		1592
	POSITION	PRICE	POSITION	PRICE	PRICE
1585 (15)					
49. LEROY, LOUIS. La vicesitudine delle cose, nell'universo. 4to. R.235,1	59	2.10	54	2.10	(1592 ed.)
50. BRANCACIO, LELIO. Della nuova disciplina & vera arte militare. fol. R.235,2	40	3.10	36	3.10	3.10
51. VIRGILIUS MARO, PUBLIUS. Opera. 8vo. R.235,5 (note 8)	61	1.10	—	—	1.10
52. TERENTIUS, PUBLIUS AFER. Locutioni overo modi famigliari di dire. 8vo. R.236,7	39	1.4	35	1.4	1.4
53. TASSO, TORQUATO. Aggiunta alle rime & prose. 12mo. R.236,9	6	0.8	6	0.8	0.8
54. TURCO, CARLO. Agnella. 8vo. R.236,10	10	0.8	9	0.8	0.8
55. —— Calestri tragedia. 8vo. R.236,11	58	0.8	53	0.8	0.8
1586 (5 and 1?)					
56. MANUZIO, ALDO, the Younger. Ortographia in tavole. Not after 1586? Broadside. R.243,9 (note 9)	42	0.6	38	0.6	0.6
57. ARMANDUS, DE BELLOVISU. Declaratio difficilium terminorum theologiae,					

3. Renouard has not seen this volume and doubts its existence.

4. Listed by Renouard under 1589; he has not seen it and quotes it from the 1589 Catalogue.

SALES CATALOGUE

	1586		1589		1592
	POSITION	PRICE	POSITION	PRICE	PRICE
philosophiae atque logicae. 8vo. R.237,1	18}	1.4	1	1.10	1.10 with date 1584
58. HUARTE NAVARRO, JUAN DE DIOS. Essame de gl' ingegni. 8vo. R.237,2	28	1.10	26	1.10	(1590 ed.)
59. MANUZIO, ALDO, the Younger. Eleganze insieme della lingua Toscana e Latina. 16mo. R.237,3	29	1.0	27	1.4	1.4
60. HORATIUS FLACCUS, QUINTUS. [Epodi] De laudibus vitae rusticae. Bologna. 4to. R.238,4	19	0.12	—	—	—
61. MANUZIO, ALDO, the Younger. Vita di Cosimo de' Medici. Bologna. fol. R.238,5	62	6.4	58	6.4	6.0
1587 (6)					
62. OFFICIUM BEATAE MARIAE VIRGINIS. 12mo. R.239,1	43	7.0 (note 10)	39	7.0	7.0
63. BODIN, JEAN. Trattato della demonomania. 4to. R.239,3	57	no price	52	4.0	—
64. MANUZIO, ALDO, the Younger. Locutioni dell'					

10. Pre-publication announcement of 1587 edition.

SALES CATALOGUE

	1586		1589		1592
	POSITION	PRICE	POSITION	PRICE	PRICE
epistole di Cicerone. 16 mo. R.239,4	37	1.0 (note 10)	33	1.4	1.4
65. VIRGILIUS MARO, PUBLIUS. Vergilius cum notis G. Meyen. 8vo. R.240,6	60	3.10 (note 11)	55	3.10	3.10
1588 (10)					
66. CAESAR, GAIUS JULIUS. [De bello gallico] Commenta- tarii. 8vo. R.240,4	—	—	12	3.10	3.10
1589 (15, should be 14)					
67. GOZZI, NICCOLO VITO DI. Discorsi della penitenza. 8vo. R.242,2	—	—	19	2.0	2.0
68. BODIN, JEAN. Trattato della demonomania. 4to. R.242,7	—	—	52	4.0	4.0
69. GOZZI, NICCOLO VITO DI. Governo della famiglia. 8vo. R.242,4	—	—	30	0.10	0.10
70. ANANIA, GIOVANNI LO- RENZO. De natura dae- monum. 8vo. R.242,6	—	—	16	0.15	0.15
71. VAIRUS, LEONARDUS. De fascina. 8vo. R.242,6	—	—	15	1.10	1.4
72. BOBALI, SAVINO DE. Rime amoroze. 4to. R.243,12	—	—	50	1.10	0.10
73. CARO, ANNIBALE. Gli strac- cioni. 12mo. R.243,13	—	—	8	0.6	0.6

11. The 1586 listing refers either to the 1580 edition, or is a pre-publication announcement. The 1592 listing gives the date 1580, which is curious, if not a mistake. The latter is quite plausible, since the editions of 1576, 1580 and 1587 are identical except for the first eight leaves.

SALES CATALOGUE

	1586		1589		1592
	POSITION	PRICE	POSITION	PRICE	PRICE
74. TASSO, TORQUATO. <i>Aminta.</i> 12mo. R.243,14	—	—	3	0.6	0.6
75. CONTARINI, GASPARO. <i>De magistratibus et repub- lica Venetorum.</i> 4to. R.243,15	—	—	—	—	1.0
<i>Date not ascertainable.</i>					
76. ROCCA, ANGELO. <i>Osserva- zioni intorno alle bellezze della lingua latina.</i> 16mo. (note 12)	44	1.0	40	1.4	(8vo ed. 1590)

12. Renouard 227,2 says: "Les catalogues d'Alde en indiquent une édition que je ne connois point."

COMMENTARY AND CONCLUSION

The first two items in the tabular presentation are the only "remainders" from the period of Andrea Asolano who conducted the affairs of the Aldus establishment from 1515 to 1529. They like the following items (nos. 3-5) were apparently sold out between the years 1586 and 1589. Six items (nos. 6-11) belong to the late period of Paolo Manuzio. The rest (nos. 12-76) are the products of the younger Aldo Manuzio or his manager Manassi.

In the tabular presentation the number of items, listed by year in Renouard, is added in parentheses after the years 1563 to 1589, to provide comparative information on sales versus production. Thus, we find that of 185 publications listed by Renouard for the period 1563-1574⁶ all but six had been sold out by 1586. Quite obviously the picture is less favorable as we approach the date of 1586.

Of 64 items listed in the 1586 sales catalogue, thirteen (nos. 1-5, 8, 10, 23, 25, 36, 43, 51, and 60), or roughly one-fifth were not relisted in the catalogue of 1589, and therefore were probably sold. However, two of these

6. Including some items printed outside Venice.

were again listed in 1592, possibly as single copies. Eight more items (nos. 7, 12, 24, 27, 49, 58, 63, and 76) from the original 64 were omitted in the 1592 listing and can be considered "out-of-print."

Three items (nos. 9, 16, and 20), though printed between 1569 and 1578, are listed in the 1592 catalogue only; they may possibly be single copies.

Several items were listed in one of the catalogues in one edition, sold out, reprinted, and listed in another edition in a later catalogue, as for example Tasso's *Aminta* (nos. 43 and 74).

Unfortunately we do not possess information on the size of editions, or the number of copies still available at the time of listing. In any case, this new type of advertising must have been successful and profitable; otherwise Manassi would not have continued the practice as persistently as he did.

The prices are in Venetian lire (or librae, livres, pounds) and soldi. A comparison with book prices of other publishers of the period has not been attempted. Price increases between lists (nos. 12-15, 18, 34, 37, 57, 59, 64, and 76) reflect the continued rise of prices, typical for the second half of the 16th century. Why, in contrast, the prices of a few items (nos. 24, 61 and especially 71, the last drastically reduced from 1.10 to 0.10, if not a typographical error) were reduced, is difficult to understand, except that complete failure to sell may have been the reason.

As stated in the introduction, the ability to sell is an indicator of "literary taste". It is beyond the scope of this study to draw any conclusions in this matter, except for pointing to some few examples: Of seven Tasso items (nos. 42-46, 53 and 74) only the *Aminta* (nos. 43 and 74) seems to have been a commercial success. All others remained listed throughout. Of nine Cicero items (nos. 8, 13, 22, 29, 34-35, 38-40) only the earliest imprint, the *Epistolae ad Atticum*, 1569, in Italian, went out of print between 1586 and 1592. In all these cases competition from other publishers has undoubtedly been a contributing factor. But the competition was equally heavy for items which were sold successfully. It may therefore, be safe to say that Tasso's *Rime*, *Padre di famiglia*, and *Rinaldo* were not too popular in the 1580's. Similarly it would appear that Cicero, most esteemed during the 15th and first half of the 16th century, had lost ground by the end of this century and that only the lower

intelligentsia, the literate whose reading was limited to works in his native tongue, prolonged enthusiasm for Ciceronian writings. Similar and less obvious conclusions could probably be drawn upon a complete analysis of the Aldus sales catalogues; but this task is left to the literary historian.

Bibliographical puzzles (or solutions) in connection with this study are few. They are found in notes 4, 5, 8, 9 and 12 of the tabular presentation. A more extended investigation of all known Aldus sales catalogues—a long range plan—may well unearth considerably more, and more valuable, information.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

The Text of Chaucer's *Purse*

by

GEORGE B. PACE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA



The Text of Chaucer's *Purse**

THE COMPLAYNT OF CHAUCER TO HIS PURSE is preserved in ten manuscripts and also in Caxton's print, which, representing a lost manuscript, ranks as an authority. As one would expect, the manuscripts all vary; but by and large the variations are slight, and it is frequently difficult to tell, on *a priori* grounds, significant from non-significant variation. Professor Robinson regards the classification of the texts as uncertain.¹

The uncertainty of which Professor Robinson speaks is well shown in the three published classifications.² They are similar in that each divides the manuscripts³ into two groups independently descended from a lost original.⁴ But this similarity is not real, for the components of the two groups are different in each classification, as one can see from footnote

*The preliminary work on this problem was done some years ago in collaboration with Dr. James W. Alexander, to whom I am greatly indebted throughout this paper.

1. Chaucer, p. 1039.

2. H. F. Heath in the *Globe Chaucer*, p. li; F. N. Robinson, *loc. cit.*; C. F. Bühler in "A New Lydgate-Chaucer MS.," *MLN*, lxi (1937), 5-9.

3. For convenience I shall not distinguish between the MSS and Caxton's printed version.

4. Heath: (1) F; (2) A Cx Ff H H² P. Robinson: (1) A² CC₂ F Ff H H²; (2) A Cx P. Bühler: (1) A CC₂ F Ff H² P; (2) A² H M. (See below for the meanings of the sigils.) Although the alphabetical arrangement of the sigils shows most imperfectly the many differences between these classifications, one will note the flexibility with which the MSS are shifted from group to group. Obviously at least two of these classifications must be largely incorrect.

4 above. Such confusion suggests that a bifid arrangement is wrong.

In great part the confusion almost certainly arises from the slightness of the variations. Each editor presumably regards a somewhat different set of readings as significant for grouping the manuscripts.⁵ With long poems, of course, it is often necessary to limit the number of variants—for practical reasons. The *Purse* is short, however, and by considering all of the variant readings, I believe I can show that a trifid arrangement is correct.

The classification proposed in this paper is hence complete;⁶ and whether one agrees with the argument or not, one has before one all of the evidence upon which a classification may be based.

The *Purse* manuscripts, with their sigils, are as follows:⁷

A	Additional 22.139. British Museum. F. 138 ^a .
A ²	Additional 34360. British Museum. F. 19 ^a .
CC ₁ , CC ₂	MS. 176. Caius and Gonville College, Cambridge. Pp. 12 (CC ₁), 23 (CC ₂).
Cx	Caxton's <i>Anelida and arcite</i> . F. 9 ^a -9 ^b .
F	Fairfax 16. Bodleian. F. 193 ^a .
Ff	Ff. 1. 6. Cambridge University Library. F. 59 ^a .
H	Harley 2251. British Museum. F. 298 ^a .
H ²	Harley 7333. British Museum. F. 148 ^a .
M	MS. 4. Morgan Library. F. 77 ^a .
P	Pepys 2006. Magdalene College, Cambridge. P. 388.

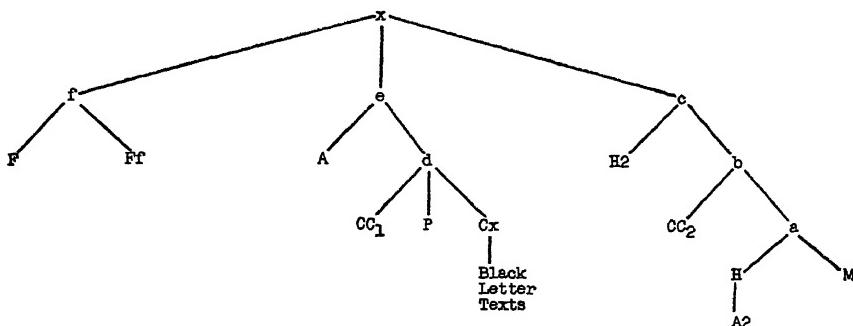
5. Dr. Böhler's classification is based mainly on the variants in lines 5, 11, 16, and 20; Robinson's (a tentative classification) and Heath's are published almost without explanation.

6. Note that Robinson omits M and CC₁ (both unavailable to him); Böhler, Cx and CC₁ (the latter unavailable to him); and Heath (whose classification was published in 1898), A² CC₁ CC₂ M (some of the errors in Heath's classification probably arise from the small number of MSS which he used, but cf. Flügel, "Kritische Bemerkungen zur Globe-edition

von Chaucers Werken," *ES*, xxvii [1900], 60). CC₁ (a transcription of which is printed in my "Four Unpublished Chaucer MSS" [forthcoming in *MLN*]) and the Black Letter texts had not been classified until my study.

7. Most of them have been published by the Chaucer Society (for A Ff H H² P, see *Parallel Texts*, pp. 448-49; for A², *More Odd Texts*, p. 41; for Cx, *Supplementary Parallel Texts*, p. 155), and I have relied on their transcriptions. In addition, I have used the transcription of M published by Dr. Böhler (*op. cit.*, 67) and the transcription of CC₂ published by H. N.

If my reasoning is correct, the following is the most probable tree for these texts.



I. In explaining the tree, we may begin most conveniently with the lowest MS. on it— A^2 . Miss Hammond has proved that H and A^2 are sister MSS,⁸ but it is nevertheless obvious that A^2 has no independent *textual* value for the *Purse*. Because the reading of H in line 11, *Ie-lownesse* (for *yelownesse*), is obviously more authoritative than the reading of A^2 , *eye lownesse*, I have chosen H as the exemplar which more closely approximates the common original of H and A^2 , and have hence diagrammed A^2 as descended from H and have omitted a separate discussion of it.

II. H and M share several readings found in no other MSS,⁹ and hence must be considered as closely related. Neither can be considered as descended from the other, however, for each text reads uniquely in places where the other agrees with the rest

MacCracken ("An Odd Text of Chaucer's *Purse*," *MLN*, xxvi [1911], 228-29).

The MSS are all from the Fifteenth Century (Cx was printed ca. 1477); A and F are from the first half. Except for CCs, the dating of which is necessarily my own, I have relied on generally established dates. (Although questions of date are not important in the classification of the *Purse* MSS, I might point out that the MS. tree which I propose preserves chronological probability.)

8. "Two British Museum MSS," *Anglia*, xxviii (1905), 1-28. The evidence which Miss Hammond used, however, is completely outside the *Purse* MSS.

9. Henceforth called "*shared unique readings*." These readings are in A^2 , of course, but at the moment that fact is irrelevant (cf. fn. 10 below).

of the MSS.¹⁰ First, M's unique readings (H's readings agree here with all other MSS):

15. Omits *to me*; H *to me*
16. Om. *downe*; H *downe*
17. *pis night*; H *thburgh youre myght*

Note also this reading in M:

- 7, 14, 21. *y muste*; H *must I*, the word-order of the rest of the MSS.

Now, H's unique readings (M's readings agree with the rest of the MSS):

2. Om. *be*; M *be*
3. Om. *nowe*; M *nowe*
10. *To . . . as*; M *Or . . . lyke*
12. *feere*; M *stere*
20. Om. *thus*; M *thus*

Note also these readings in H:

5. *on biere*; M *upon my bere*, the reading of all MSS except P Cx (see section VI below, in which it is shown that P Cx have a common original).
15. *my lif my light*; M *my hertis light*. Both readings are unique, yet M's is closer to the generally supported reading, *my lyves lyght*.

H and M share these unique readings:

11. H *yowre le-lownesse bath no peere*; M *yowre yelownes bathe no pere*. For reasons which will become apparent, Chaucer's original (the *x* of the tree) must be assumed to have read *That of yelownesse had never pere*.
16. *souerayn lady*. The rest of the MSS read *savour*.
20. Both MSS read line 6 here and omit the usual *But yet I pray vnto your curtesye*.

10. As a general thing, the phrase "the reading of the rest of the MSS" means exactly what it says. To avoid an unnecessary complication, however, I exclude from consideration the readings of MSS already considered provided they are in the same line of descent as the

MS. being discussed. For instance, it is at present of no significance whether A² agrees or disagrees with the rest of the MSS. (The variant readings of A²—as well as those of the other MSS—may be found in the Table of Variants below.)

On the basis of the above shared unique readings, we may assume ex \sqrt{HM} ,¹¹ which we may call α . The significant readings of α are as follows:

- 1. to
- 4. yf
- 5. Me were as lefe to be leyde vpon my bere
- 7, 14, 21. must I
- 10. Or se
- 11. That of youre yelownesse hath no pere
- 13. Quene of comforde and of company
- 15. Now purse
- 16. And souerayne lady downe in this world here
- 18. Sith
- 20. ffor which vnto yowre mercy thus I crye
- 22ff. Om. Envoy

III. CC₂ and α share several unique readings. Because of the following unique reading in α , however, we cannot assume the descent $\alpha > CC_2$:

- 11. *That of youre yelownesse bath no pere.* CC₂, which reads *neuer no pere*, must belong with the MSS in which *neuer* occurs (i.e., all except α); further, CC₂ omits *youre* with all other MSS.

Nor, because of the following unique readings in CC₂ (where α and the rest of the MSS agree), can we assume the descent $\alpha < CC_2$:

- 1. Om. *to*; α *to*
- 15ff. CC₂ om. third stanza and envoy; α , although it omits the envoy, contains the third stanza.

Note also these readings in CC₂:

- 4. Om. *yf*; α *yf*, the reading of all other MSS except A Cx P.¹²

11. This useful abbreviation, borrowed from the Chicago *Chaucer*, means, of course, "the exclusive common ancestor [of H and M]."

12. On the basis of this reading Dr. Böhler groups CC₂ with A P (he does not consider Cx). The omission, however, is of the sort that any scribe might well be tempted to

make, since the line is metrically too long and the *yf* is not necessary to the sense (see below for a further discussion of this variant). In view of the quite strong evidence in lines 5 and 11 for grouping CC₂ with α , one is practically forced to consider the omission of *yf* as accidental coincidence.

5. *Me were A leef to be layd opon my bere; a Me were as lefe to be leyde vpon my bere*, a reading closer to the generally supported reading, which omits *to*.

CC₂ and *a* share the following unique readings:

5. *to be leyde vpon my bere*. All other MSS om. *to*.
11. *no pere*. All other MSS om. *no*.

The following reading may be taken as corroborative evidence:

- 7, 14. *must*. All other MSS except *CC₁*¹³ have variations of *mote*.

On the basis of the above readings, we may assume *ex √ a CC₂, b*, the significant readings of which, as they differ from those of *a*, are as follows:

11. That of *yelownesse hath never no pere*

IV. *H²* and *b* share two unique readings. However, because of the following unique readings in *b* (where *H²* and the rest of the MSS agree), we cannot assume the descent *b > H²*:

5. *to be layde; H² be leyde*
16. *souerayne lady; H² saveoure*
20. Reads line 6 here; *H² But yitte I pray vn-to your courtesye*
22ff. Om. envoy; *H²* has the envoy

Nor, because of the following unique readings in *H²* (where *b* and the rest of the MSS agree), can we assume the descent *b < H²*:

10. *Or shew . . . to; b Or sō (om. to)*
15. *Yee pursse; b Now purse*

Note also this reading in *H²*:

16. *as in þis worlde dounē here*. Although in reading *dounē in this world here* *b* incorrectly omits *as*, it preserves the generally supported word-order.¹⁴

^{13.} *CC₁*, in the same book as *CC₂*, contains the last stanza and the envoy. Although it is of a different provenance from *CC₂* (see section VI), and apparently in a different hand, there may be some connection in both texts' reading *must* instead of *mote*.

^{14.} *CC₁* reads *as in this worlde dounē here*. The agreement in word-order with *H²* seems non-significant (see fn. 17 below).

H² and b share this unique reading:

13. Om. *good*. All other MSS read *good*.

These readings are also significant:

11. H² *neuer his pere*; b *neuer no pere*. The extra word is uniquely common to these MSS.
18. *Sith*. All other texts except CC₁ and the Thynne print of 1532 read *Syn*.¹⁵

On the basis of these readings we may assume ex √ b H², c, the significant readings of which, as they differ from those of b, are as follows:

5. *be leyde*
 16. *saveoure*
 20. *But yitte I pray vn-to your courtesye*
 22ff. The envoy presumably read as in H².

V. Before considering the group A CC₁ Cx P, I shall give briefly the evidence for the classification of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth-century printed versions of the *Purse*. Since they all derive ultimately from Cx, they are of no value in establishing a text.¹⁶ The descent often can be determined only through shared spellings since many of these texts are practically identical. The copy in Thynne's 1532 edition of *The Workes* (sig. Vvv4^b) is almost identical with Cx: the only variations of importance are the substitution of *arte* for *be* in line 15, and *Sithe* for *Syn* in line 18. The copies in the 1542 and the undated (1545?) Thynne (sig. TT5^a and Qqq4^b respectively) are independently descended from the 1532 volume, as can be determined from the spellings which the undated Thynne shares with the 1532 but not with the 1542. The only variant reading of any importance is the undated Thynne's error *tresour* for *tresorere* in line 18. The copy in Stow's 1561

15. Since the Thynne print is clearly copied from Cx (see section V below), which reads *Syn*, this reading may have little significance.

16. Fortunately, as they seem never to have

been investigated carefully (even Thynne was unclassified before this study, although the classification is simple [cf. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 1039]).

edition of *The Workes* (sig. Ooo6^b-Ppp1^a), is descended from the copy in the undated Thynne edition, sharing with it *tresoure* but misreading *worde* for *worlde*, l. 16, and *Burtes* for *Brutes*, l. 22. The copy in Speght's 1598 edition of *The Workes* (sig. Ooo5^b-Ooo6^a) is descended from Stow: it leaves uncorrected the three misreadings mentioned above but introduces no new errors. The copy in Speght's 1602 edition (sig. Iii3^a) "corrects" the errors of its predecessor (*treasoure* becomes *treasure*, *Burtes* becomes *Brutes*, *word* becomes *world*) but for some unknown reason attributes the poem to Hoccleve. This copy introduces a few slight variants (these are found also in its offsprings, a copy in a 1649 pamphlet reprinted and discussed by P. B. Mitchell in *MLN*, li [1936], 436, and the reprint in the 1687 Speght). The last text we need consider is the copy in Urry's 1721 *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, Compared with the Former Editions, and many valuable MSS* (p. 549). Despite the pretensions of the book's title, this copy is only a sophisticated version of Stow.

VI. CC_x Cx P share one unique reading. Because CC_x is a fragment, containing also a number of unique readings, neither Cx nor P can be descended from it:

1-14. CC_x omits the first two stanzas.

16. *as in this worde downe here; Cx P as down in this world here*, a reading which we must assume to be that of Chaucer's original.¹⁷

17. The evidence for this line is as follows:

Cx P A F Ff	<i>as down in this world here</i>
CC _x	<i>as in this worde downe here</i>
H ²	<i>as in his worlde downe here</i>
A ² H	<i>downe in this world here</i>
M	<i>in this worlde here</i>

As we shall see, we must assume that F Ff form a group independently descended from x; hence we must assume the reading of Cx P A to be that of x (note also the reading of A² H).

CC_x's reading, however, leaves us with two additional problems: the agreement in word-order with H² and the agreement in the variant *worde* with the Stow print. For the first of these I can offer no explanation except

to remark on the general badness of CC_x's text, a badness which suggests memorial transcription. I am forced to regard the agreement in word-order with H² as accidental in view of the rather strong evidence for grouping CC_x with Cx P in l. 24. The second agreement is even more remarkable when considered with the next line, for there CC_x reads *tresour* with Stow. Yet we know that Stow's reading derives from the 1545(?) Thynne. It is chronologically impossible, of course, that CC_x be descended from Thynne or Stow, and there seems to be no reason for thinking that Thynne or Stow utilized CC_x, since their texts are otherwise in close agreement with their printed predecessors. The explanation must

17. *Of lich¹⁸*; Cx P *Out of*, the reading of all other MSS.
18. *tresour*; Cx P *tresorere*, the reading of all other MSS.
19. *shae*; Cx P *shawe*, the reading of all other MSS.
20. *you curtiously*; Cx P *your curtoisye*, the reading of all other MSS.
24. *Be*; Cx P *Ben*, the reading of all other MSS.
25. *you*; Cx P *ye*, the reading of all other MSS. *all my mys*; Cx P *alle
harmes*, a reading closer to the reading we must assume for *x*, *all
oure harmes*.

Neither CC₁ nor Cx can be descended from P:

4. *But certes*; Cx *For certes*, the reading of all other MSS except A (which reads uniquely *That certes*).
14. *By*; Cx *Be* (with A CC₂), a variant of the generally supported *Beth*.
21. *ell*; CC₁ *els*, Cx *ellis*, variants of the generally supported *elles*.
22. *o*; CC₁ Cx *of*, the reading of all other MSS.
23. *be*; CC₁ Cx *by*, the reading of all other MSS.

Neither CC₁ nor P can be descended from Cx:

3. Om. *so*; P *so*, the reading of all other MSS.
4. *ye now make*; P *but ye make*, the reading of A (and CC₂¹⁹) and closer to the reading of the rest of the MSS, *but yf ye make*.
17. *by*; CC₁ P *throuze*, the reading of all MSS except M (which reads uniquely).
20. Om. *yet*; CC₁ P *yet*, the reading of all other MSS.

Note also the following unique spelling in Cx:

19. *ony*; CC₁ P *any*, the usual spelling.

CC₁, Cx P share one unique reading:

24. Om. *song*. All other MSS containing the envoy read *song*.

lie in the character of the variants. Both *tresour* and *worde* make a sort of obvious sense, and hence both may be sophistications; or they may be misprints in Thynne and Stow, graphic errors in CC₁ (note that CC₁'s scribe drops a letter in *shave*, l. 19, reading *shae*). (Professor Hench has called my attention, since I wrote this note, to the fact that *word* is commonly found for *woruld* in Middle English texts (cf. NED). Hence the form in CC₁ is quite probably only a variant spelling.)

Such striking agreements as the *tresour-worde* pair show how necessary it is to consider all variant readings in constructing a tree rather than simply those that seem significant.

18. Apparently meaningless (the writing is clear).

19. The omission of *yf* must be considered non-significant for grouping CC₂ with A P in view of the evidence set forth in section III.

Note these other readings as corroborative evidence:

5. Both P and Cx depart from the usual reading, *vpon my bere*. P *vp on bere*, Cx *vpon a bere*.
8. *yet*. The rest of the MSS read *it*. Presumably, Cx and P's unusual spelling arose from a parent MS. whose parent, in turn, read *yt*.
25. CC, Cx P depart from the reading which we must assume to be that of *x* (see section X below), *all oure harmes*, CC, reading *all my mys*, Cx P *all harmes*.²⁰

On the basis of the above readings we may assume ex ✓ CC, Cx P, *d*, the significant readings of which are as follows:

4. For certes but ye make me heuy chiere
5. Me were as lief be leid vpon bere
- 7, 14, 21. Be
8. *yet*
11. had neuer pere
13. of gode compayne
16. as doun in this world here
18. *Syn*
19. as any frere
21. Be . . . mote I
24. Ben verrey kinge this to yow I sende
25. And ye that mow all harmes amende

VII. A and *d* share two readings, one unique, the other, although not unique, believed to be significant for grouping A with *d*. Because, however, of the following unique readings in A (where *d* and the rest of the MSS agree), we cannot assume the descent *d* < A:

4. *any*; d *heuy*
13. Om. *of*; d *of*
21. Om. *mote*; d *mote*
- 22ff. A omits the envoy

Note these unique spellings in A:

7. *dey*; d *dye*, the usual spelling.
20. *Rut* (an obvious scribal error); d *But*.

²⁰ CC's reading perhaps derives from a hands of the period *har* and *my* do not look spelling *all har mys*, since in the non-book unlike.

Nor, because of the following unique readings in *d* (where A agrees with the rest of the MSS), can we assume the descent *d* > A:

- 5. *vpon bere*; A *vpon my bere*
- 8. *yet*; A *hit*

A and *d* share these readings:

- 4. Om. *if*. All other MSS except CC₂ read *if*.
- 7, 14, 21. *Be*. All other MSS read some form of *Beth*.

Although this evidence is not strong, it is stronger than any other evidence for placing A; hence I think we may assume ex √ *d* A, *e*, the significant readings of which, as they differ from those of *d*, are as follows:

- 4. *For certes but ye make me heuy chere*
- 5. *vpon my bere*
- 8. *hit*

VIII. Because of the following unique readings in *c* (where *e* agrees with the two MSS not yet considered, F and Ff), we cannot assume the descent *e* < *c*:

- 11. *had never no pere*; e *had neuer pere*
- 13. Om. *good*; e *good*

Nor, because of the following unique readings in *e* (where *c* agrees with F Ff), can we assume the descent *e* > *c*:

- 4. Om. *if*; c *if*
- 24. Om. *song*; c *song*
- 25. Om. *oure*; c (with Ff) *oure*

c and *e* share one reading which is not shared by the two MSS yet to be considered (F Ff):

- 19. *For I am shave as nigh as any frere*

This line must be assumed to be the reading of the prototype. Otherwise we must assume, as will appear, that *x* read *For I am shave as nye as is any frere* (a reading found only in Ff). Hence

we cannot consider that *c* and *e* had an exclusive common ancestor. Each rather represents a group derived independently from an unknown parent MS.

IX. F and Ff share a number of unique readings. Because of these unique readings in Ff, however, we cannot assume the descent F < Ff:

- 11. *the lewdnesse*; F *yellownesse*, the reading of *c e*.
- 19. Om. *nye*; F *nye*, the reading of *c e*.

Note also these two spellings in Ff:

- 7, 14. *deye*; F *dye*, the usual spelling.
- 21. *erlles*; F *elles*, the usual spelling.

Nor, because of these unique readings in F, can we assume the descent F > Ff:

- 19. *a*; Ff *any*, the reading of *c e*.
- 25. *alle myn harme*; Ff *all oure harmes*, the reading of *c*.

F and Ff share these unique readings:

- 18. *bene*. The other MSS read *be*.
- 19. *is*. The other MSS omit.
- 25. *mowen*. This form varies in all other copies.

Note also these two unique spellings:

- 8. *voucheth sauf*. This phrase was troublesome to nearly all of the Purse scribes (A *vouchesafe*; A² H *fouchesauf*; CC₂ *wouschsaf*; Cx *vouchesauf*; H² *wouchēpe save*; M *fouchesaufe*; P *vouch sauf*).
- 14. *ayeyne*

On the basis of the above readings we may assume ex ✓ F Ff, *f*, the significant readings of which are as follows:

- 4. *but yf*
- 7, 14, 21. *Beth*
- 13. *of gode compayne*
- 18. *Syn*
- 19. *For I am shave as nye as is any frere²¹*
- 21. F *For I am shave as nye as is a ffrere*; Ff *For I am shawe as ys any frere*.

24. song
25. all oure harmes

X. Neither *c* nor *e* can be descended from *f* because of *f*'s reading:

19. *For I am shave as nyg as is any frere.* Here *c* and *e* agree on *as nyg as any frere.*

XI. *f* shares with *c* these readings not found in *e*:

4. *but if.* *e* omits *if*
7, 14, 21. *Beth e Be*
24. *song.* *e* omits *song*
25. *all oure harmes e all harmes*

But *f* shares with *e* these readings not found in *c*:

13. *gode.* *c* omits *gode*
18. *Syn.* *c Sith²²*

Hence we must suppose that *c*, *e*, and *f* all derive independently from one parent (the *x* of the tree).

XII. From the tree it will be seen that four MSS (F Ff A H²) are all at one remove from the original. Of these Ff has the fewest unique readings and is in general a good text. It therefore forms the basis of the text which I now print.

The complaynt of Chaucer to his Purse

To yow my purse and to noon other wight
Complayn I for ye be my lady dere
I am so sory now that ye been lyght
ffor certes but yf ye make me hevy chere
5 Me were as leef be layde vpon my bere
ffor whiche vnto your mercy thus I crye
Beeth hevy ageyne or elles mote I dye

22. To be considered as significant only with the reservation expressed in fn. 15 above.

[2]

- Now voucheth-sauf this day or hyt be nyght
 That I of yow the blisful sovne may here
 10 Or se your colour lyke the sonne bryght
 That of yelownesse had neuer pere
 Ye be my lyfe ye be myn hertys stere
 Quene of comfort and of gode compayne
 Beth heuy ayeyne or elles mote I dye

[3]

- 15 Now purse that ben to me my lyves lyght
 And saveour as doun in this worlde here
 Oute of this tovne helpe me thurgh your myght
 Syn that ye wil nat bene my tresorere
 For I am shave as nye as any frere
 20 But yet I pray vnto your curtesye
 Bethe hevy ayen or elles mote I dye
 Lenvoy de Chaucer
 O conquerour of Brutes albyon
 Whiche that by lyne and free eleccion
 Ben verray kynge this songe to yow I sende
 25 And ye that mowen all oure harmes amende
 Haue mynde vpon my supplicacion

When one compares this text with Skeat's and Robinson's, one does not find a great many differences,²³ a fact which should not be surprising, since all three texts are based on the same manuscript. The differences are:

23. There are many differences in spelling, of course; but since no edition can pretend to reproduce Chaucer's spelling, the fact that the three texts are spelt somewhat differently is not important. My procedure has been to follow F's spelling rather rigidly, departing from it only when it is unique (but making no distinction between *y* and *i* and *u* and *v*: hence *sovne* instead of *soun* in l. 9). Skeat's

departures from F's spelling, incidentally, seem to follow no consistent plan: for instance, he adopts the spelling of Cx P, *purs*, in l. 15, although the spelling of F, *purse*, is found also in A A² [CC₁] H [M]; but in l. 1 he retains F's *purse*, although Cx Ff P spell the word *purs*. Skeat's *through* for *thurbg*, l. 17, is found in no MS.

3. *been.* Skeat *be.*
4. *ffor certes but yf ye make me hevy chere.* Skeat and Robinson omit *yf*.²⁴
11. *That of yelownesse had never pere.* Skeat and Robinson read *hadde*.
15. *ben.* Skeat *be.*
18. *wil.* Skeat and Robinson *wole.*
25. *all oure harmes.* Skeat *all our harm.*

Because the differences between my text and Skeat's and Robinson's, while numerous, are rather trivial, a natural question now—at least a question frequently asked—is this: If a text is to stay substantially the same, why go to the trouble of “establishing” it?²⁵ Is the work worth doing, really? An answer lies readily at hand in Dr. Bühler's comments on the Morgan MS.:

Does line 17 in the Morgan MS. [*Oute of this toun helpe me pis night*] mean that Chaucer wanted money to leave Greenwich and thus avoid an expected encounter with the sheriff? . . . The lines (apart from the Envoy) suggest a date not later than May 4, 1398, for on that day King Richard took Chaucer “into his special protection. . . .” After that date Chaucer had no reason to press for money so urgently, or, for that matter, to leave town precipitously. This is true not only of the poem as it stands in the Morgan MS. but also in the other MSS.; the Morgan text (in line 17) mainly emphasizes Chaucer's immediate need of money. This argues for a date earlier than May 4th, 1398; in that case, the Morgan text may be construed to represent the earlier version of the poem.²⁶

24. My reading, metrically less regular than Skeat's and Robinson's, perhaps needs a word of comment. Although *yf* is omitted by some MSS (A CC, Cx P), it is found in two of the three branches of the tree and hence must be assumed to have been in the original. Furthermore, it would seem more probable that a scribe would emend to make the line more regular than emend to make it less regular. (It may be well to remind the reader that the *x* of the tree is only the archetype of the eleven *Purse* MSS; that it is not necessarily identical with Chaucer's own copy of his poem [indeed, most probably is not exactly identical]; and hence that the *x* of the tree may itself have contained errors.)

25. One can never know, of course, what the final text will be until the work is done.

26. *Op. cit.*, pp. 8-9. Since Dr. Bühler is arguing from a unique reading—and the assumption is usually made that unique readings are per force to be regarded as of scribal origin—the reader should know that in Dr. Bühler's tree the Morgan MS. is placed at one remove from the original. Even so, there are logical difficulties in assuming “the earlier version.” Instead of one earlier version, at least two earlier versions must be assumed, one composed of the Morgan MS. alone (solely on the basis of its unique variant in l. 17).

Chaucer's biography is so meager that it is tempting to make any inferences we can. I think my study shows, however, that we must reject any inferences drawn from line 17 in the Morgan MS. From the evidence set forth in section II above, we must conclude that the Morgan MS. is the sister of Harley 2251—that the two manuscripts have an exclusive common ancestor, the *a* of my tree. From the evidence set forth in sections III and IV, we must conclude that *b* is the sister of CC₂,²⁷ and that, in turn, the exclusive common ancestor of *a* and CC₂ (the *b* of my tree) is the sister of Harley 7333. Now in line 17 Harley 2251 and Harley 7333 read *Out of this towne help me thurgh youre myght*; this is the reading of the rest of the manuscripts also. Hence the reading of *a*, the parent of the Morgan MS., must have been *thurgh youre myght*, and the variant *bis night* the emendation of a scribe.

TABLE OF VARIANTS

Note. Since the classification uses spelling variants only to corroborate stronger evidence, and since a list containing spelling variants becomes unwieldy, only variant readings are given below. All MSS not listed may be taken as agreeing with the lemma (written thus: xyz)).

1. purse) *first purpose, corrected to purse H².* to) *om.* CC₂.
2. ye) *yow A² CC₂ H. be)* *om.* A² H. bene Ff.
3. so) *om.* Cx. now) *om.* A² H. ye) *you CC₂. been)* be A CC₂ Cx H² P. bethe) M.
4. ffor) That A. But P. yf ye) *om.* yf A CC₂ P. ye now Cx. ye) *you CC₂. hevy)* any A.
5. as leef) A leef CC₂. as) als H². be) to be A² CC₂ H M vpon) on A² H. my) *om.* A² H P. a Cx.
6. your) you M.
7. Beeth) Be A Cx P. elles) ell P. mote I) must I A² H. most I CC₂. y muste M.
8. hyt) yet Cx P.
9. No variant readings.
10. Or) To A² H. se) shew H². lyke) as A² H. lyche to H².
27. CC₂ ends at line 14.

11. yelownesse) yowre eye lownesse A². yowlenes CC₂. the lewdnesse Ff. yowre Ie-lownesse H. youre yelownes M. had) hath A² H. hadde F. hathe M. neuer pere) no peere A² H. neuer no pere CC₂. neuer his pere H². no pere M.
12. be) bien A² H. beo H². bethe M. lyfe) light A² H. be) bien A² H. beo H². bethe M. myn) my A CC₂ Cx H² M P. stere) feere A² H.
13. of) om. A. gode) om. A² H H² M. all CC₂.
14. Beth) Be A Cx CC₂. By P. elles) ell P. mote I) must I A² H. most I CC₂. y muste M.
- CC₂ omits the rest of the poem; CC₁ begins here.*
15. Now) Yee H². ben) be A CC₁ Cx. beth A² H M. to me) om. M. lyves lyght) lif my light A² H. hertis light M.
16. saveour) souerayn lady A² H M. as) om. A² H M. doun) om. M. as doun in this worlde here) as in this worlde here CC₁. as in þis worlde doun here H².
17. Oute of) Of lich CC₁. thurgh) by Cx. thurgh your myght) þis night M.
18. Syn) Sith A² CC₁ H H² M. wil) wole F. wolle M. bene) be A A² CC₁ H M P. beo H². tresorere) tresour CC₁.
19. shave) shae CC₁. nye) om. Ff. as any frere) as is a ffrere F. as ys any frere Ff.
20. yet) om. Cx. your curtesye) you curtiously CC₁. A² H M omit this line and read line 6 here.
21. Bethe) Be A CC₁ Cx P. elles) ell P. mote) om. A. must A² H. most CC₁. y must M.

A A² H M CC₂ lack the envoy.

Lenvoy de Chaucer) Thenuoye of chaucer vnto the kynge Cx. Lenvoye H² P.

22. of) o P.

23. by) be P.

24. Ben) Be CC₁. songe) om. CC₁ Cx P.

25. Ye) You CC₁. mowen) may CC₁ Cx H². mow P. all oure harmes) all my mys CC₁. alle harmes Cx P. alle myn harme F. all oure harmonous H².

26. Haue) haje H².

The title. The compleint of chaucer vnto his empty purse Cx. The complaynt of Chaucer to his Purse F. A supplicacion to Kyng Richard by chaucer/ H². The complaynt off Chaucers vn-to his purse M. La Complet de chaucer A sa Bourse Voide P. Chaucer A².

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The Headlines of William de
Machlinia's *Year-Book*, 37 Henry VI

by

CURT F. BÜHLER

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA



The Headlines of William de Machlinia's *Year-Book*, 37 *Henry VI*

THE RECENT REVOLUTIONARY STUDIES in the field of headlines by Bowers,¹ McManaway, Hinman and others among my colleagues have suggested to me that I might try my prentice hand at this line of investigation. For this trial effort, I chose an English incunabulum in the Pierpont Morgan Library² which might prove valuable from a bibliographical point of view even if, for the literary student, the book is singularly lacking in appeal. The results of my study are set forth below; they are interesting though, perhaps, inconclusive—the latter being the possible result of my inexperience in this form of bibliographical research.

The volume under examination is the *Year-Book 37 Henry VI* credited to the press of William de Machlinia in London and apparently printed between 1486 and 1490. The collation of the volume, as given by Duff 422,³ is: [a⁸⁻¹] b-f⁸ g h⁶. The information as to the first quire is somewhat uninformative. Upon

1. I should here like to thank Professor Fredson Bowers for his most welcome assistance and wise counsel; his help has been absolutely invaluable. It would be improper, however, to hold Mr. Bowers responsible for any possible errors in the deductions I have set down here.

2. Ada Thurston and Curt F. Bühlert, *Check List of Fifteenth Century Printing in The Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York, 1939, no. 1819.

3. E. Gordon Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books*, Bibliographical Society, Illustrated Monograph no. xviii.

careful study it becomes evident that folio 3 is an insert as it is printed on different paper from the rest of the quire; the watermarks and the stub found between folios 5 and 6 of the Morgan and Exeter College copies confirm this. Apparently this leaf was forgotten or overlooked when the quire went to press and the omission was made good by an insert. According to Dr. Greg's formulary, the first quire would be described as $a^6(a_2+1)$. For reasons which I set forth in my Rosenbach lecture (1947), I should prefer to describe this as [a⁷; a₃ disjunct] or, as expressed in M. Polain's⁴ form, [a⁷(4+3, le 3° encarté)].

Before turning to the volume itself, a word may be said about the headlines in such fifteenth-century books as the present example. It is, of course, a commonplace observation that early type was often somewhat crudely cut and easily subject to damage; frequently the ink was carelessly applied and, being thin, tended to spread and distort the face of the type. This at once simplifies and complicates the examination of the headlines. While the variety of tied letters in the earlier fonts makes it easy to sort out the headlines into readily identifiable groups, the indistinct characters and bad inking make it extremely difficult, on occasion, to determine whether a specific headline on one page is the same as that on another or whether the apparent identity is just an instance of a headline reset with the identical combination of tied letters and reasonably comparable spacing. The headlines in the present volume have been minutely examined as to letter-press, and calliper measurements of over-all length and spacings have been carefully recorded;⁵ for the purposes of this discussion, only those running heads will be admitted which can, with reasonable certainty, be assumed to be identical.

4. M.-Louis Polain, *Catalogue des livres imprimés au quinzième siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique*, Bruxelles, 1932, *passim*.

5. It is hardly likely that the shrinkage caused by the wetting of the paper would make

an appreciable difference in the measurements. The headlines are relatively short and the effect of shrinkage would not be perceptible in millimetre measurements below a maximum 33 mm. for the longest normal headline.

One peculiarity of the headlines in this book must be pointed out at once, since it is of special significance. In normal circumstances (and especially in books of a later date), a particular headline, when it forms part of a permanent skeleton,⁶ must necessarily always be in the same position⁷ relative to the edges of the type-page. In this *Year-Book*, however, the position of a specific headline is not so invariable. For example, in quire b the eight verso running-heads show five (possibly more) different positions relative to the (printed) left-hand edge of the type-page, the maximum difference being as much as 13 millimetres. Dr. Fredson Bowers has kindly suggested to me what is surely the only reasonable explanation for this phenomenon. It is possible that the long lines of the folio volume made it difficult for the pressman to pick up a whole line of type (that is, the headline with its letter-press and quads) without danger of pieing. Thus one may assume, in this case, that in transferring the parts of a skeleton from one forme to assemble them again around the type-pages of the next one, the printer merely picked up the letter-press of the headline, centered it (as nearly as he could judge) to the text-page and filled up the rest of this line to the edge of the type-page with the loose quads from the forme about to be distributed. This would adequately explain the variations in the position of the headline from page to page.

Turning now to the actual headlines in Machlinia's *Year-Book*, we find that, with three exceptions,⁸ each recto page contains the words "Henrici sexti." The versos usually indicate the four terms of court (Michaelmas, Hilary, Easter

6. For the definition of this term, see Fredson Bowers, "The Headline in Early Books," *English Institute Annual*, 1941 (1942), p. 186, and his general discussion of the problem in "Notes on Running-Titles as Bibliographical Evidence," *The Library*, 4th ser., xix, 315-338.

7. Very minor variations in the position of

the headline may, of course, be due to the difference in the amount of pressure when the headline was locked but such a change would necessarily be quite small.

8. On the first printed page [a2], c4 (see below) and d3, the beginning of Easter term.

and Trinity). The recto headlines are extant in at least three different settings that can easily be spotted:

- (1). Thorned *H*; *ri* tied
- (2). Thorned *H*; *ri* separate letters
- (3). Unthorned *H*; *ri* tied

As the investigation will at this stage be simplified by confining our study to the last three gatherings (f-h), it will be seen that the verso headlines cover the Trinity term (Trīñ xxxvij) and appear in four different settings:

- (a). *ri* tied; *j* undotted; 5 mm. space; 30 mm. over-all⁹
- (b). *ri* tied; *j* dotted; 3 mm. space; 28 mm. over-all
- (c). *ri* tied; *j* dotted; 1 mm. space; 26 mm. over-all
- (d). *ri* separate; *j* undotted; 30 mm. over-all

Now the outer formes of quire f regularly have the combination: Trinity (c)—Henry (1); the inner formes, however, have with the same regularity: Trinity (a)—Henry (3). In the case of gathering g, both inner and outer formes have the headlines: Trinity (b)—Henry (1). The headlines of quire h are decidedly more complicated. The first two sheets (h1.6 and h2.5) have in both formes:¹⁰ Trinity (d)—Henry (3); but the inner and outer formes of the innermost (h3.4) both have: Trinity (b)—Henry (1). The result then is this: in gathering f, Machlinia had and used two skeletons, one for the outer forme and the other for the inner; in quire g he used but one skeleton (a variant of that found in \$(o) of f); and, for quire h, he employed for the outer two sheets a variant of the skeleton used in the inner forme of f. Since the innermost sheet of h is printed with the same running heads as quire g, it probably indicates that when Machlinia had set his type through folio 4 recto, he was ready to print the inner forme of the innermost sheet and proceeded to do so with the skeleton that had just been

9. The measurement is taken from the left extremity of the cross-bar in *T* to the point at the bottom tip of *j*.
10. h6 verso is, of course, blank.

used for printing the last forme of g (whichever one that may have been).¹¹ While this sheet was printing, Machlinia put in a new head, *i.e.* Trinity (d), for the skeleton used for the inner forme of f in order to print the middle sheet of h as well as the inner forme of the outer sheet; the recto headline also appears on hr.

Turning now to the earlier gatherings, we find that the headlines for quire c are perplexing but afford information of a rather speculative sort. Here are found on the versos three forms for the headline for Hilary term:

- (α). Hill' xxxvij—c4, c5 and c6
- (β). Hillarij xxxvij—c8 (and dr)
- (γ). Hillarij xxxiiij (*sic*)—c2 and c7

A study of the sheets *in their bound and quired form* (not that of production) supplies the following information. The skeleton for the previous printed forme (be that either forme of the outer sheet of gathering b) contained the headline "Michis xxxvij—Henry (2)" and this reappears in the first inner forme of c (c1—c8). For the outer forme, and for all the other versos (save c3), Machlinia required a new running title for Hilary term. Thus he here used Hilary (β) for c8^v and, for c1, Henry (1). This latter heading had been previously employed for the printing of the rectos of b6 and [a3—5].

For the next sheet (c2—c7), Machlinia used another headline. The skeleton then contained, for the outer forme, the incorrect Hilary (γ)¹² and Henry (1). This same skeleton was

¹¹. If one should assume that Machlinia began printing with the first sheet of quire h—printing both formes of this and the second sheet with only one skeleton, there is no apparent reason why he should have preserved the skeleton from the previous quire for use only in both formes of the innermost sheet. If he had been printing "outside in", one would expect to find the same skeleton used for all three sheets, or (if he here used two skeletons)

to find the second skeleton used for the second sheet.

¹². This, naturally, would be a suitable headline for Duff 419 (*Year-Book 34 Henry VI*). Through the courtesy of Mr. H. G. Nicholas, Librarian of Exeter College, Oxford, I learn that the section for Hilary term 34 Henry VI occurs on signatures f1 through h3 of Duff 419. This slight misprint perhaps means that the two books were printed about the same time.

employed for the inner forme, with the result that the Hilary (γ) headline on c2^v was then wrong in two respects since, instead of Michaelmas 37, it read Hilary 34.

In the case of the third and fourth sheets of signature c,¹³ Machlinia was obliged to meet a rather complex situation, for whereas the outer forme of the former and the inner of the latter had the same headline, the complementary formes did not. For the formes with the identical headline,¹⁴ he used a running title reading Hilary (α)—Henry (2); this corrects the error of Hilary (γ) of the second sheet.

Beginning with the outer sheet, the headlines may be summarized thus:

Quire c	1.8(o):	Henry (1)—Hilary (β)
	(i):	Henry (2)—Michis xxxvij
	2.7(o.i):	Henry (1)—Hilary (γ)
	3.6(o):	Henry (2)—Hilary (α)
	(i):	Henry (2)—Michis xxxvij H vi ¹⁵
	4.5(o):	De t'mino ¹⁶ &c—Hilary (α)
	(i):	Henry (2)—Hilary (α)

13. In quire d, the situation is equally complex. For the first sheet of this quire, Machlinia seems to have taken, from the skeleton of c1—c8^v, Hilary (β) for the inner forme as it reappears (just once again) on d1^v and Henry (1) for the outer, since this reading is found only on d1 and was not used again till quire f. The innermost sheet, in turn, has the same headline in both formes: Pa/che xxxvij (j undotted)—Henry (3); the latter appears here for the first time. This combination of running titles occurs only once more, in the outer forme of the second sheet of gathering e. In the rest of quires d and e, the only recto headline is Henry (2); the verso running-heads seem to defy classification.

14. One must otherwise assume that separate headlines were supplied for all four formes, since (as we shall see) parts of the original pair of running titles appear in the complementary formes. But these running titles seem to be identical and it seems mathematically most improbable that Machlinia could four times have set such headlines with the same

combination of abbreviations, spacings and measurements. This is especially true in view of the noticeable variety found elsewhere whenever he was called upon to supply new letter-press. It is true that the headline on c6 verso seems to measure one millimetre more than the others but it is possible that this particular forme was not locked up as tightly as the other two. The measurements for the Trinity headline, it should be noted, depend on the space between the term and the year—a somewhat different matter than simple over-all length. Even a slight loosening of the pressure would probably spread the increased length more or less equitably throughout the running title, not necessarily in just one particular place.

15. This marks the end of the Michaelmas term.

16. The headline "De t'mino hill' anno H exti. xxxvij." is supplied to mark the opening of the Hilary term.

The actual printing of the eight leaves of gathering c may well have proceeded as follows. When the compositor had set through folio 5^v, printing on this section could have begun. In moving the skeleton from the last forme of b and requiring a new headline for c4^v-c5, the printer placed the still usable running title (*Michis xxxvij*) above the type-page of c1^v and supplied the new head Henry (2)—Hilary (α). For the outer forme of c3.6 he could (and perhaps did) use the same skeleton and headline immediately¹⁷—and he could then have perfected both sheets by using the respective halves of the original headline together with the special running titles as noted above. At this stage the original pair of running titles was no longer together, so the compositor set up the combination Henry (1)—Hilary (γ) for c2.7 (probably using a skeleton then idle) and printed both outer and inner formes with this. The skeleton for inner c3.6 could then have been used for printing inner c1.8, keeping Henry (2) and using the *Michis xxxvij* which had been preserved for this purpose. For the outer forme of this sheet, the printer then had available the skeleton of c2.7; he retained the Henry (1) but, noting the misprint, supplied the correct Hilary (β) for c8^v.

These are the facts, so far as they can be ascertained with any reasonable assurance, which may be determined from the headlines—though the reader, without the book before him, is possibly by this time thoroughly confused. If my findings are correct, it would indicate that expediency was the order of the day at Machlinia's press.¹⁸ It seems likely that the printing

17. If he had printed normally (that is, first the inner and then the outer formes of c4.5 and c3.6), he would have had available (from outer c3.6) the pair "Henry (2)—Hilary (α)" for printing outer c1.8. Since, however, he set up new combinations for both c1.8^v and c2.7, it seems to indicate that the old pair of headlines was no longer available.

18. Charlton Hinman ("New Uses for Headlines as Bibliographical Evidence," *English*

Institute Annual, 1941, pp. 207-222) has suggested that, when two skeletons were employed, this was done solely for the purpose of speeding up the presswork. He also states (p. 209): "It follows as a general principle that in any book printed on a single press two sets of headlines will appear only if the book was printed in an edition large enough for composition to keep ahead of presswork—and of presswork at the increased speed which the use of two skeletons would make possible."

of the various formes for this book was undertaken rather with the idea of conserving effort than that of saving time or maintaining a logical sequence. As we have seen, Machlinia was perfectly capable (in gathering f) of handling two skeletons, printing the one forme with one skeleton and perfecting with the other. Why he did not follow the same procedure in quire g is incomprehensible to me, unless it be true that another press with a less skilled crew was set to work on this section of the book. Again, in quires c and h, Machlinia used more than one skeleton but (in all of h and in parts of c) he printed the inner and outer formes of the same sheet with the same skeleton. He thereby voided whatever benefits normally accrue through the use of multiple skeletons, especially those of keeping the press at full productivity and saving time. Machlinia may, of course, have found difficulty in keeping the text pages of troublesome Law-French in proper order (he had already made one serious slip in the first quire). This may have suggested to him that it would be better to proceed with caution rather than to avail himself of the full potential productivity of the press. If there is any other explanation for the curious order in which the headlines appear in quires c and h, it is not apparent to me.

Neither of these conditions necessarily applies here, but it must be borne in mind that Machlinia was working, almost certainly with rather simple equipment, more than a century earlier than the period with which Hinman

concerns himself. For the way the supply of type affects this problem, see Fredson Bowers, "An Examination of the Method of Proof Correction in *Lear*," *The Library*, 5th ser., II, 20-44.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

Sir John Davies' *Nosce Te ipsum*,
1599: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL PUZZLE

by

GERALD J. EBERLE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA



Sir John Davies' *Nosce Teipsum*, 1599: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL PUZZLE

THE FULL STORY OF THE DIFFERENT ISSUES of *Nosce Teipsum*, 1599, a quarto, has by no means been told. I propose to add a chapter, analyzing and identifying the twenty copies I have examined or have had examined for me. Of these copies of STC 6355, all printed by Richard Field for John Standish in 1599, eleven are usually described as first editions, nine as second. Some libraries have made a further distinction between a first and second issue of the first edition, based upon variant readings in line sixteen of signature Cr^v. The reading "chaunge" has been used to distinguish the first issue, the second issue having "chaunce" at this point.

These editions and issues, however, are linked by more than their common imprint. In signatures K and L, for example, the first and second editions are being printed very nearly at the same time. Standing type from the first edition, signatures K₄ and L₃, is used with the new running-title in the second edition. More significantly, in two copies of the second edition —one in the Chapin Library of Williams College, the other in the Folger Shakespeare Library, the copy identified as STC 6355b—outer K of the second edition is perfected with corrected inner K from the first edition.

Apparently this perfecting was stopped early; the perfecting

of outer K in other copies of the second edition was continued with only one page of standing type.

Because this linking of editions is but a small part of the central problem, I have not attempted to examine all available copies of the second edition. Nor have I reported in the charts five copies which appear to be normal second editions throughout. Those unreported copies are in the Rylands Library, Manchester; Emmanuel College Library, Cambridge; the Henry E. Huntington Library; Yale University Library; and the Detroit Public Library.

A more significant link between the first and second editions is to be seen in three copies: the Chapin Library copy, the Library of Congress copy, and the Bodleian copy. These three are usually identified as second editions, but all three have signatures B and C from the first edition. I doubt that these are made-up copies in the usual sense of the word.

These links are charted in the accompanying Table 1, the full meaning of which will become apparent as this report progresses. At the moment a brief word of explanation is in order: I have used the symbol X for the first edition and Y for the second. The appended *u* and *c* indicate the uncorrected and corrected states of a forme, the combined *uc* indicates a partially corrected forme. The X_1 and X_2 indicate the first and second settings of type in outer B and C, about which more later. The absence of an appended symbol does not necessarily indicate an invariant forme but merely that I have not recorded any corrections. The gaps in the chart call attention to those copies which have not been studied fully, because I found it necessary to have them examined for me. Those fully reported I have studied either in the originals or in photostats.

As is apparent from the chart, the linking of editions is just one of several abnormalities that resulted from the complicated printing of *Nosce Te ipsum*. That several formes appear in two settings of type has been long known, but not explained. I

propose here to report fully what I have found and to attempt an explanation.

Though the creaking of the machinery while the guns are hauled into position might prove somewhat annoying, several more charts must be displayed and explained: the accompanying Table II indicates the distribution of running-titles in all formes of the first edition. The apparently arbitrary choice of letters to designate running-titles was a device to facilitate recognition. Each symbol indicates the letter in the running-title which is its most obvious distinguishing mark. Thus the so-called *U* running-title is that in which the *U* and *M* are badly spaced. It will be noted immediately that after sheet *G* the arrangement of these heads in sets of four is slightly varied. The earlier grouping has heads *S U T E* in one unit and *O I N P* in another.

By way of warning it must be noted here that in the rearrangement of heads after sheet *G*, the bad spacing of the *U* head was remedied. But close examination leads me to believe that it is the same head, not a new one. In passing I might add that the running-titles of *Nosce Teipsum* are somewhat hard to manage because they are all upper-case letters and do not show many marks of positive identification. Only the simultaneous examination of many copies made it possible for me to ignore minor variations due to faulty inking or dirty type.

Table III is involved in the distinction between the first and second settings of type in outer *B* and outer *C*, and generally in the relationship between the first and second editions. It charts an odd practice by one of the compositors in Field's shop, the man who set the type for almost all of the second edition and part of the first; this compositor habitually placed a space in front of each mark of final punctuation. The formes in both editions which are set by this compositor are marked *W*, the unspaced-punctuation formes are marked *N*. The chart refers to the first setting of type in the first edition, and momentarily

ignores a slight exception which will be discussed in detail later.

The forme that I have listed as B(o)X₂, the reset, is unusual in that the so-called wide-spaced final punctuation appears on B_{2v} and B₃, and the unspaced or narrow punctuation on B₁ and B_{4v}. This abnormality obviously suggests a resetting by two compositors, each working from half a sheet already printed on one side. No other conceivable explanation is as satisfying as this one; hence I have not hesitated to label the second setting positively.

This reset of outer B is superior to the original setting in several important readings, and includes on B_{4v} the use of italic instead of roman type in lines 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, and 15. Ordinarily we expect reset pages to be inferior to the original setting in appearance at least.¹ But here the evidence of two compositors at work, each on a half sheet, is, I think, decisive. Such a division of copy is expedient when the press is standing by, waiting for a forme which had been mistakenly distributed too soon.

Because the reset in B(o) is marked by improvements in readings and by the substitution of italic for roman, a needed correction, the same touchstones ought to be valid in C(o).

In outer C the reset forme substitutes italic for roman in nineteen words or phrases; it adds twenty commas; it improves seven readings, adds one typographical error and rectifies another. This analysis is re-inforced especially by one faulty reading in the first setting: "A&t" for "Art" on sig. C₃. There can be no question that the correct reading is "Art". A compositor setting from manuscript could misread and set "A&t". But it is unlikely that he should set "A&t", using the ligature, from a printed page reading "Art". The more likely explanation is that he was resetting from corrected copy that consisted of the printed word "A&t" with marginal proof corrections to indicate the proper reading.

1. See McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 184-6.

When we turn to examination of the combinations of formes in B and C, we note several oddities. In sheet B, for example, all copies of the uncorrected state of the inner forme are perfected by the first setting of type, and all copies of the corrected state by the second setting.

In inner B the corrected state is marked by these readings:

Sig. B _{1v} , line 14	<i>Good and Truth</i>
Sig. B ₂ , line 4	<i>retain'd</i>
Sig. B ₄ , line 4	<i>threat</i>

The uncorrected readings are "*God and Truth*", "*retained*", "*thereat*". Only the last is a manifest error, though all the corrected readings are somewhat superior to the uncorrected.²

The corrected state of inner C (not a new setting of type at all) is distinguished by the readings "*chaunce*" and "*Doctrines*".

As is noted in Table i, the wholly uncorrected state of C(i) in the first edition, with the reading "*chaunge*" on sig. C_{1v} line 16, and the reading "*Doctrine*" on sig. C₂ line 6, has been found in only one copy, the so-called first issue of the first edition in the Huntington Library. Four copies retain "*chaunge*" but correct to "*Doctrines*". The remaining copies make the further correction to "*chaunce*".

Quite the opposite of what we found in sheet B, the five uncorrected and partially corrected formes of inner C are perfected by the second setting of type. One additional copy, that in the Carl Pforzheimer Library, perfects the corrected state of inner C with the second setting. All other copies have corrected inner C perfected by the first setting of type.

The central question, as I take it, is this: How could a miscalculation go unnoticed until two successive outer formes had been printed and their type distributed? The notion that the formes had pied may be discounted immediately, for the running-titles were not disturbed.

2. Because the second edition was set from error to "threat", but retains the faulty uncorrected copy, it corrects the obvious "God".

Any explanation must, I believe, take into account the odd order of perfecting in sheets B and C, as well as the apparent over-printing of these sheets that manifests itself in the three copies of the second edition which have sheets B and C from the first edition.

It seems to me that we must assume, first of all, that the outer formes of sheets B and C were printed successively or perhaps simultaneously before perfecting was begun. Putting together all the evidence of running-titles, variants, and oddities, and making use of traceable broken letters, I offer one possible solution of the problem.

In the following tentative explanation of what perhaps happened in Field's shop, the number of copies printed is, of course, pure conjecture, however reasonable the figures might appear to be. Because the time element is so important at the start at least, I have numbered the various steps in the process.³

1. Forme B(o)X₁ [S E T] and Forme C(o)X₁ [O P N] were first imposed and run off. After about 800 copies had been machined, the type was distributed. It is possible that two presses worked off these formes simultaneously, and in view of what happened later it is perhaps probable.

2. Forme B(i)X_u [S U T E] perfected the 800 copies of Forme B(o)X₁ [S E T]. Here in sig. B₃^v line 8 appears for the first time a distinctively broken lower-case roman letter g in the word "sight".

At this point it was decided to enlarge the edition to about 1400 copies. The decision was reached before the perfecting of sheet C was begun.

3. For some reason Forme C(i)X_u [O I N P] started to print white paper before perfecting C(o)X₁. After about 100 copies had been printed, the first correction was made. After about 400 copies of C(i)X_{uc} [O I N P], the second correction

3. The symbols used in Tables I and II have been used throughout the discussion that follows. The running-titles used for each forme are placed in square brackets after the identi-

fication of formes. Thus the symbol B(o)X₁ [S E T] means "outer B of the first setting of type of the first edition with the running-titles identified as S E T."

was made. The final 100 copies on white paper were printed from C(i)Xc [O I N P].

Then the now wholly-corrected Forme C(i)Xc [O I N P] went on to perfect the 800 copies of C(o)X₁.

4. Meanwhile Forme B(i)Xu [S U T E] had finished perfecting and had gone on to print 600 copies on white paper, but the forme had in the meantime undergone correction. Thus we have 600 white paper copies of B(i)Xc [S U T E].

5. The resetting of already distributed type occurred here. Forme B(o)X₂ [O P N] used the ornament that had been used in Forme B(o)X₁ and some of the display type from the head-title: for example, the *g* from the word "knowledge", but not the *l*. This Forme B(o)X₂ [O P N] perfected the 600 copies of B(i)Xc [S U T E].

6. In Forme C(o)X₂ [O P N] the previously mentioned wide-spacing compositor assisted, setting sigs. C₂v and C₃. Here, on sig. C₁, the oddly broken letter *g* re-appears.

7. The 600 copies of Forme C(i)Xu-Xuc-Xc were perfected by Forme C(o)X₂ [O P N]. And that completed the printing of all of sheets B and C for the first edition.

At this point it was decided to enlarge the edition further, to perhaps 2400 copies, by making of it a double edition. The composition for what we call the second edition could have started at about the same time as step number 5 above, but not very well earlier. I believe that the wide-spacing compositor began to set Forme B(o) for the second edition as soon as he had completed his two pages for B(o)X₂, for these reasons:

For sig. B₁ of the second edition he used some of the remaining letters of display type from the head-title of Forme B(o)X₁: for example, the *l* from the word "knowledge" and the *e* from the word "humane". The ornament used is a mirror image of that used in both settings of the first edition. Thus the re-appearance of certain letters and non-appearance of others gives us probable temporal termini within which the composition of the second edition may have begun. I assume that composition began after

B(o)X₁ was distributed and before B(o)X₂ was completed.

The decision to enlarge again, when the last of 1400 copies of sheets B and C were in process of being machined, made it advisable to print only 1000 copies of those sheets in the second edition. Thereafter each edition would print 1200 copies. The odd distribution of running-titles in the first edition can be reasonably accounted for if we assume that one press printed one forme each day.

While the first edition machined sheet D, the second edition was working with sheet C. The distinctively broken letter g appears now in both C(o) and C(i) in the second edition. Obviously the type from C(o)X₂ was distributed by the wide-spacing compositor in order to replenish a case that must have been quite short of certain sorts; so short, in fact, that it became expedient to distribute one of the formes in sheet C in the second edition before composition for the other forme was well under way. This unusual state of affairs came about probably because the second edition was being set by formes from proof-read sheets of the first edition as they came off the press. Had this delay between inner and outer formes of a single sheet occurred at the end of a working day, no special inconvenience would have resulted.

From this point on, it seems likely that the second edition was composed by formes from the first edition and printed at the same time as the first edition but slightly more than one forme behind. Tracing the broken g through the formes enables us to see some such pattern.

The broken g, last used in both formes of sheet C in the second edition, appears nowhere in sheet D. But it occurs in the first edition in sig. E₃ v line 14, and in sig. F₂ line 8.

Then it appears again in the second edition, in G₁ v line 4. Then back to the first edition in H₃ line 6 and in I₃ v line 13.

It seems reasonably certain that the second edition was at least one forme behind the first edition but probably not much more than two formes behind. After sig. I₃ v the distinctively

broken g disappears. Fortunately, other links become apparent.

It is noted in Table III that the wide-spacing compositor set both formes of sheet H, the inner forme of sheet I, and both formes of sheets K and L in the first edition; his hand is also traceable in the second edition in all formes except inner and outer F, inner and outer I, and outer L. This suggests the switching of compositors wherever the pressure was greatest at the moment. I think, too, that after the second edition had machined inner I, all the resources of the shop were directed toward completing the printing of the first edition. Some evidence is available to enable us to determine the time relationship in sheets K and following in the first edition.

We note, for instance, that Forme K(i)Xc was used to perfect the first printed sheets of Forme K(o) in the second edition. The fact that the entire forme was used, running-titles and all, is significant, especially when we note that the relative position of those running-titles on the page is different in the second edition. Then, when the inner forme of K in the second edition was imposed, it used standing type from Forme K(i)Xc on sig. K4^v but with a single italic word in the first line set in different type. Apparently the use of the first edition forme in the second edition took place after that forme was unlocked.

Now when we note that the running-titles used in K(i)Xc were used also in L(i)X we may assume that, unless the printing of sheet L in the first edition was delayed, the use of K(i)Xc to perfect K(o) of the second edition took place after the printing of the first edition was completed. In other words, the I T U S running-titles were re-imposed around the still standing pages of K(i)Xc for use in the second edition after they had been used for L(i)X. This explanation can be re-inforced by means of a further link between the two editions a bit earlier.

When sig. M₁ in the first edition, a single page, was printed along with the preliminary matter,⁴ only one running-title was

4. Note that sig. A in Table I is not simply unsigned title-page has its verso blank; the divided into inner and outer formes. The next leaf, signed A₃, begins the dedicatory

needed. The title used was the one identified in Table II as *P*. Another running-title in the same O E N P group, the *O* title, for which there was no longer any use in the first edition, appears now on sig. I₃ in the second edition. I have not been able to trace any other of the first edition running-titles in the second edition.

As a final link, the display type from the first edition title-page and from sig. A₃ was re-used in the second edition but with a different ornament, again a mirror image of that which was used in the first edition. That the second edition was printed after the first here is determinable by the progressive deterioration of the central stem in the letter *m* in the word "Humane" on the title-page. The letter is damaged throughout the first edition copies and through part of the second edition copies. In some copies of the second edition the piece is broken off completely. In general, it seems clear that the outer forme of sheet I in the second edition was imposed while the press was machining the final formes of the first edition.

To sum up: in the outer forme of sheet I of the second edition one running-title from the first edition was used.⁵ In the inner forme of sheet K an entire forme was used for some of the perfecting of the second edition. Then a single page of standing type from the inner forme of sheet K in the first edition was used with a new running-title in the newly set inner forme of sheet K in the second edition. This must have been a time-consuming process, but no simpler explanation suggests itself. The possible overprinting of the inner forme of sheet K in the first edition would not account for the different position of headlines in the normal Forme K(i)Xc and in those pages as they appear in the second edition sheets. Similarly, in sheet L a single page of standing type from the first edition was used on

verses that end on the verso. Signature Mr was probably printed with the preliminaries. All known copies lack A₁ and A₄. The Mr page from the first edition in one copy of the second is probably the result of sophistication.

5. The running-titles in the second edition present a hopeless picture of lack of order. I find at least fourteen different titles, some used as many as seven times; is this evidence of a pool of running-titles?

sig. L₃ with a new running-title and with reset marginal notes in the second edition.

Furthermore, two compositors are at work on the final sheets of the second edition: the inner forme of sheet L is wide-spaced before final punctuation except for the first two lines of sig. L_{1v}; the outer forme of sheet L is narrow-spaced except for sig. L₃, where the wide spacing results from the fact that this is standing type from the wide-spaced first edition.

In passing it might be noted that all the evidence that the second edition was set from the first is borne out by careful collation of variant readings. I make a special point of this since we might be tempted to assume that sheet I in the first edition was set from already printed formes of sheet I from the second edition, because of the odd division of labor between compositors. But I believe that the use of the O running-title on sig. I₃ precludes this. Apparently we must assume a division of copy designed to allow each compositor to set a complete forme.

Finally, the fact that the variant reading on sig. K_{3v}—“will” for “will”—represents a miscorrection in the first edition that was repeated in the second must not disturb our belief that the second edition was in every forme set from the first.

The complicated order of formes through the press in sheets B and C of the first edition, as outlined above, would result in the following combinations of variants:

Sig. A. 1200 copies, the assumed size of the first edition.

Sig. B. 1400 copies, divided as follows:

800 copies	B(o)X ₁	S	E	T	(8 exemplars)
	B(i)X _u	S	U	T	
600 copies	B(o)X ₂	O	P	N	(6 exemplars)
	B(i)X _c	S	U	T	

Sig. C. 1400 copies, divided as follows:

800 copies	C(o)X ₁	O	P	N	(8 exemplars)
	C(i)X _c	O	I	N	

100 copies	{ C(o)X ₂ O P N C(i)X _u O I N P	(1 exemplar)
400 copies	{ C(o)X ₂ O P N C(i)X _{uc} O I N P	(4 exemplars)
100 copies	{ C(o)X ₂ O P N C(i)X _c O I N P	(1 exemplar)

It is unfortunate that the wide distribution of copies of the first edition makes so difficult the examination of watermarks and paper. Otherwise it might be interesting to see whether such a study would confirm or render untenable the beliefs expressed here.

Table I

Distribution of variant formes in copies of *Nosce Te ipsum*, 1599.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
A ₂	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	[X]	Y	Y	Y	Y	
A ₃	Xc	Xc	Xc	Xc	Xu	Xc	Xc	Xc	Xc	Xu	Y	Y	Y	Y	
A _{3v}	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	
B(o)	X ₂	X ₁	X ₂	X ₂	X ₂	X ₁	X ₁	X ₁	X ₂	X ₂	X ₁	X ₁	X ₁	X ₁	Y
B(i)	Xc	Xu	Xc	Xc	Xc	Xu	Xu	Xu	Xc	Xc	Xu	Xu	Xu	Xu	Y
C(o)	X ₂	X ₁	X ₁	X ₂	X ₂	X ₁	X ₁	X ₂	X ₂	X ₂	X ₁	X ₁	X ₁	X ₁	Y
C(i)	Xu	Xc	Xc	Xc	Xuc	Xc	Xc	Xuc	Xuc	Xuc	Xc	Xc	Xc	Xc	Y
D to I	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							Y Y
K(o)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	
K(i)	Xc	Xu	Xu	Xu	Xc	Xu	Xu	Xc	Xu	Xu	Y	Xc	Y	Xc	
L(o)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
L(i)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
M ₁	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	[]	Y	Y	X	Y	

Copies reported in numbered columns:

1. Huntington Library copy listed as first edition, first issue.
2. Huntington Library copy listed as first edition, second issue.
3. The Folger Shakespeare Library copy. STC 6355a.
4. The Pforzheimer Library copy.
5. The British Museum copy. C.34.f.22.
6. The New York Public Library copy.
7. The Wellesley College Library copy.
8. The Harvard University Library copy.
9. The Trinity College Library copy. Capell Q9¹.
10. The Trinity College Library copy. Capell Q9³.
11. The Trinity College Library copy. Capell S3⁶⁴.
12. The Bodleian Library copy. Malone 716.
13. The Chapin Library copy.
14. The Library of Congress copy.
15. The Folger Shakespeare Library copy. STC 6355b.

Table II

Distribution of running-titles in the first edition, *Nosce Te ipsum*,
1599.

Sig.	Outer forme				Inner forme			
	1	2 ^v	3	4 ^v	1 ^v	2	3 ^v	4
A.			(none)				(none)	
B.		S	E	T		S	U	T E
C.		O	P	N		O	I	N P
D.	U	S	E	T		S	U	T E
E.	I	O	P	N		S	U	T E
F.	I	O	P	N		O	I	N P
G.	U	S	E	T		S	U	T E
H.	I	T	U	S		T	I	S U
I.	E	O	P	N		O	E	N P
K.	I	T	U	S		O	E	N P
L.	I	T	U	S		O	E	N P
M.		P						
<i>Reset formes:</i>								
B.		O	P	N				
C.		O	P	N				

Table III

Pattern of wide-spaced and unspaced final punctuation in both editions.

<i>Forme</i>	<i>First edition</i>	<i>Second edition</i>
A(o) & (i) through E(o) & (i)	N	W
F(o) & (i)	N	N
G(o) & (i)	N	W
H(o) & (i)	W	W
I(o)	N	N
I(i)	W	N
K(o) & (i)	W	W
L(o)	W	N
L(i)	W	W
M <small>I</small>	N	W

N.B. This table ignores the reset formes and a slight exception which is noted in the body of the paper.

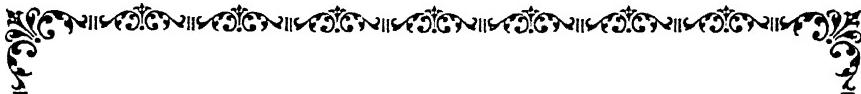
THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

New Uses of Watermarks As
Bibliographical Evidence

by

ALLAN H. STEVENSON

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA



New Uses of Watermarks As Bibliographical Evidence

IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ONE ECONOMY practised in the publishing of cheap play quartos was the use of job lots of paper. These papers usually originated in France and varied somewhat in thickness, texture, and watermarks. As a result of their use, many quartos contain several different watermarks, and some almost as many different watermarks as sheets.¹ Often individual sheets vary in watermarks from copy to copy. It is obvious that such varying watermarks may prove a source of information as to the manner in which a book went through the press. Despite inherent ambiguities, they promise support to the evidence supplied by press corrections, headlines, and the early treatise by Joseph Moxon toward the solution of bibliographical problems.

This article is intended as a preliminary enquiry into the significance of job-lot or variant watermarks. The evidence and illustrations are drawn mainly from a group of play-quartos printed by Thomas Cotes in the spring of 1639/40. Though studies of the papers of other printers are needed for correlation, the present investigation appears already to yield useful inferences and methods.

1. McKerrow notes that "many printers bought their paper in job-lots, and it is common to find a number of different watermarks in a book about the printing of which there

appears to have been nothing abnormal." Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1927), p. 101 n.

PAPERS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

numerous Family. After a long printing Career, I shall reluctantly surrender to my said Competitor the Remains of a small Business, established with much Toil, Care and Expence; but should the Measure eventually take Place, your Excellency will be enabled to account for my Paper not arriving at your Office.

With the highest Consideration for your Excellency's Character and literary Attainments, and zealous Attachment to the Government in which you hold so distinguished a Station, I have the Honour to be, very respectfully, your Excellency's obedient and devoted Servant,

J^on Carter.

His Excellency Thomas Jefferson, Esq^r

[On back, in an unknown hand: 'Carter John | recd Novem^r 2^d | 1790'; in Jefferson's hand: 'Carter John recd Nov. 2.']

Sir,

Agreeably to the request contained in M^r Remsen's letter of yesterday, I beg leave to inform you that should I be continued the publisher of the laws of the United States,⁵ I shall perform that duty, with accuracy and expedition, at the rate of one dollar for what is equal to one page of the edition of the laws printed by Childs & Swaine.

This is considerably under what I have hitherto had from the State of Pennsylvania, and much less than my fixed price for advertising.

I beg leave just to add that should the printer of any other reputable paper propose to undertake the business for a less sum I shall most cheerfully lower my price accordingly.

I have the honor to be,
Sir, your obedient
humble servant

And^v Brown

Philadelphia

26 Nov^r 1790.

5. On the 5th of February, 1791, Jefferson presented an official report to the House of Representatives, setting forth a contemplated authoritative edition of the "Laws, Treaties, and Resolutions of the United States." The

MS of this report is in the Library of Congress; it was printed in full in *American State Papers*, "Miscellaneous," I, 37. Jefferson's certificate of 25 July 1792, post, also refers to this job.

their watermarks to learn what support they offered a hypothesis concerning the order in which these plays were printed. I found that the sequence of the watermarks substantiated my idea of the typographical relations of the title-pages.⁴ Thus encouraged, I proceeded to look for further meaning in the watermarks.

I noted that Cotes printed two other plays in 1640: Chamberlain's *The Swaggering Damsell*, for Andrew Crooke, and Habington's *The Queene of Arragon*, for William Cooke. The first is a quarto containing seven of the watermarks found in the Fletcher-Shirley group, and *The Queene of Arragon* is a small folio which luckily exhibits three (at least) of the same watermarks—in the center of the page. As these two plays were entered on 2 April 1640,⁵ while Cotes was seeing the Fletcher-Shirley quartos through the press, it is likely that he went on with the new work for Crooke and Cooke and completed the Chamberlain and Habington plays by May or June.⁶

I have attempted no complete study of these nine Cotes plays in terms of compositors, headlines, press corrections, and watermarks. There might never be time for that. But I have gathered data on all and have made a detailed study of one important quarto, *The Opportunitie*. I have examined twenty copies of this play for press corrections and twelve copies for watermarks. A full collation of eight copies and a partial collation of others has revealed corrections in just five formes: inner and outer C, outer F, inner G, and inner K. Several of those in outer C and outer F bespeak a corrector of intelligence and resource, but those in the other formes are mechanical and

ticle, "Shirley's Publishers: the Partnership of Crooke and Cooke," *The Library*, 4th s., xxv (1944-45), 140-61.

4. These results will be printed elsewhere.

5. Greg, 1, 52.

6. A companion Habington folio, *The Historie of Edward the Fourth*, entered ahead of the play, on 15 Nov. 1639 (Arber, iv, 489), has some of the same marks. Certain other Cotes folios and quartos of 1640, such as Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum* and Heywood's *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women of the World*, contain decidedly different watermarks.

routine, though useful in the study of printing-house practice. This difference in the *kinds* of corrections may itself suggest inferences concerning the order of formes through the press.

Press Corrections in THE OPPORTUNITIE

Forme	Literal	Punctuational	Literary	Uncorrected copies	%
C(i)	5	3	1	10 ex 20	50
C(o)	3	7	4	3 " "	15
F(o)	0	5	2	7 " "	35
G(i)	5	9	0	1 " "	5
K(i)	2	0	0	1 " "	5

The table shows the number and frequency of corrections for each forme. If the sample is a fair one, we have indications that half the edition sheet of inner C was run before corrections were made, amounting to nine small changes. Corrections were also made in the outer forme, somewhat sooner in its run, apparently when the reader discovered blunders in the sense. One suspects there had been earlier corrections when the compositor looked over his type or preliminary proofs were taken. In outer F a good third of the sheets remained uncorrected. But of inner G and of inner K only single uncorrected copies have come to light. Their rarity suggests the possible existence of other uncorrected (inner) formes.

Study of the headlines in *The Opportunitie* reveals two distinct skeletons. These show regular and normal transference from forme to forme, except for interchanges of formes at four points and turns of skeleton X at inner E and inner K. This is the pattern of the two skeletons:

Skeleton X: B(i) C(o) D(o) E(i)^t F(o) G(o) H(i) I(i) K(i)^t
 Skeleton Y: B(o) C(i) D(i) E(o) F(i) G(i) H(o) I(o) K(o)

Judging from the treatment of speech prefixes and spellings, the early sheets were set by two compositors, but from about

sheet E on by a single and different compositor.⁷ If there is more than coincidence in the turning of skeleton X at inner E, one may suspect an interruption in the work on the quarto there.⁸

With these bibliographical features of the quarto in mind, we turn to the watermarks in *The Opportunitie*. There seem to be seven. The accompanying table shows their distribution in the twelve copies examined, together with the incidence of corrections in these copies. The pot watermark common to sheets B and C is a one-handled pot surmounted by fleuron and crescent; its bowl, measuring 19 mm. across, bears the letters ^G RO — probably indicating manufacture by the Rousel family in France.⁹ One copy in sheet B has a slightly larger pot with two slender handles and a round bowl of 22 mm., bearing a fleur-de-lis.¹⁰ The characteristic mark of sheets B to F is the very Christian symbol IHS with cross mounted on the bar of the H;¹¹ it measures 36 x 36 mm.¹² Associated with this paper (in the same edition sheets) is one showing a small bird (45 x 27 mm.) with pointed head, wings outstretched, and tail fanned out: I find nothing like it in Briquet, Bofarull,¹³ or Nicolaï.¹⁴

7. Notable is the shift in the prevailing colloquial spelling of "would" from "wod" to "wud" and of "should" from "shod" to "shud." This is not likely due to a change in copyists, for the manuscript would seem to have been holograph.

8. The new compositor may have come from work on *The Humorous Courtier*, for at E4^r he set "Orf." (as if for Orseolo) as the catch-word instead of "Af." (for Ascanio). Orseolo is the "humorous courtier" of the earlier play.

9. This pot occurs also in *The Night-Walker* and *The Humorous Courtier*. It is similar to Edward Heawood's no. 78 in "Papers Used in England after 1600," *The Library*, 4th s., xi (1930-31), 299. Heawood, p. 289, mentions a MS of 1633 with pot G/RO; and W. A. Churchill illustrates a pot G/RO of about 1645 as no. 469 in *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and*

XVIII Centuries and Their Interconnection (Amsterdam, 1935).

10. It resembles Heawood 89 and is found also in *Wit without Money*, *The Night-Walker*, *The Humorous Courtier*, and *The Swagging Damsell*.

11. Similar "Jesus" watermarks are illustrated in C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes* (Paris, 1907), nos. 9461, 9463, 9465, and elsewhere. They were sometimes used as countermarks.

12. The measurements for the IHS, bird, and grape marks are taken from the folio pages of *The Queene of Arragon* (ICU copy).

13. Francisco de A. de Bofarull y Sans, *Los animales en las marcas del papel* (Villanueva y Geltrú, 1910).

14. Alexandre Nicolaï, *Histoire des moulins à papier du sud-ouest de la France 1300-1800* (Bordeaux, 1935).

As these IHS and bird papers are similarly associated in other plays,¹⁵ they probably had the same origin and came packed together, that is, with tokens or reams of each in the same lot or bale. Twice in sheet D occurs a U-shaped spray of flowers (48 mm. across) with letters or leaves between the stems.¹⁶ Then in sheets G, H, I, K, and half-sheet A comes a great harvest of grapes. These grapes are fifteen to a bunch, in diamond form (18 x 13 mm.), with a bit of stem.¹⁷ Among the grapes in sheet H twice appears a crown, over the initials GP (22 mm. wide)—perhaps those of the maker of the grape paper. Except for the bird and spray watermarks, these are all common types and indicate papers imported from France, perhaps from the mills of Normandy.¹⁸ As some copies of the quarto measure at least 7" x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ " or more, these papers appear to have been of old demy size or about 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".¹⁹

15. *The Night-Walker*, *The Coronation*, *The Swagginger Damsell*, *The Queen of Aragon*. A more homogeneous mixture of paper would be the normal result of the use of two moulds together in the manufacture of paper—see Louis Le Clerc, *Le papier* (Paris, 1926), 1, 17, and Dard Hunter, *Papermaking* (New York, 1943), pp. 88, 133. In fact, such trays were commonly made and used in matched pairs, so that one ordinarily cannot tell their watermarks apart. But in this group of plays the two marks are not at all alike and are not evenly distributed. Their association must be of a different kind.

16. It turns up also in *Loves Crueltie*, *The Night-Walker*, and *The Humorous Courtier*, but I find no parallel in the books.

17. Similar to Heawood, "Further Notes on Paper Used in England after 1600," *The Library*, 5th s., II (1947-48), no. 135 or 140, without the leaf and stem. Most illustrations, such as Briquet's show more than fifteen grapes. I find this mark in all seven of the Cotes plays dated 1640. Here it may be noted that the "1639" plays, *Wit without Money* and *The Maides Revenge*, contain some pots, letters, etc., not found in the 1640 plays, along with several marks that link them with them.

18. The indications are that the Rousel (or Rouse) mills were in Normandy. Cf. Heawood's notes on RO paper-marks in "Papers Used in England after 1600," pp. 282, 287, 291, and "Further Notes," p. 125, with his general evidence that most cheap papers came from northwestern France. A recent French authority provides a more definite clue: a legal record of 1636 shows that "Jean Huet et Nicole Rouxel, sa femme, natifs du pays et duché de Normandie," were paying "une chef rente de 12 l. 10 s. et un champart d'une rame de papier" for a mill near Morlaix in Brittany. See H. Bourde de la Rogerie, "Les papeteries de la région de Morlaix depuis le XV^e siècle jusqu'au commencement du XIX^e siècle," *Contribution à l'histoire de la papeterie en France*, VIII (Grenoble, 1941), 20. This monograph locates the mills of a number of Norman paper-makers, including some who had migrated to Brittany. The well-known Bodleian list of 1674 mentions various papers imported from Caen and Morlaix: R. W. Chapman, "An Inventory of Paper, 1674," *The Library*, 4th s., VII (1926-27), 406-8.

19. Chapman, p. 403. This is not quite half modern demy size. It has scarcely been noted that paper sizes have grown considerably since the Restoration.

Watermarks in THE OPPORTUNITIE

	ICU	DFo ¹	DFo ²	DFo ³	MH ¹	MH ²
A	.....^d	.....^d	Grapes ⁿ	Grapes ⁿ	.....^d	Grapes ^d
B	Pot-fl	Pot	Pot	IHS	IHS	IHS
C	Bird ^c	Pot ^u	Pot ^u	Pot ^u	Pot ^u	IHS ^c
D	IHS	Bird	Spray	IHS	IHS	Bird
E	IHS	IHS	IHS	Bird	Bird	IHS
F	IHS ^c	IHS ^c	IHS ^c	IHS ^u	IHS ^u	Bird ^c
G	Grapes _c	Grapes_{c}	Grapes_{c}	Grapes_{c}	Grapes_{c}	Grapes_{c}
H	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes
I	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes
K	Grapes_{c}	Grapes_{c}	Grapes_{c}	Grapes_{c}	Grapes_{c}	Grapes _c
	DLC ¹	DLC ²	NNP	ICN	IEN	S
A	Grapes ^d	Grapes ⁿ	Grapes ^d	Grapes ⁿ	Grapes ^d	[Missing]
B	IHS	Pot	IHS	IHS	Pot	Pot
C	IHS ^c	Bird ^c	Pot ^u	IHS ^c	Bird ^c	Pot ^u
D	Spray	IHS	IHS	Bird	IHS	IHS
E	IHS	Bird	IHS	IHS	IHS	Bird
F	IHS ^u	IHS ^c	IHS ^u	IHS ^c	Bird ^c	IHS ^c
G	Grapes _c	Grapes_{c}	Grapes_{c}	Grapes_{c}	Grapes_{c}	Grapes_{c}
H	Grapes	Crown/GPCrown/GP	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes
I	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes
K	Grapes_{c}	Grapes_{c}	Grapes_{c}	Grapes_{c}	Grapes_{c}	Grapes _c

Collation: A² B-K⁴. Copies: Chicago, Folger (3), Harvard (2), Library of Congress (1), Morgan, Newberry, Northwestern, Stevenson.

Abbreviations: ^d dated, ⁿ not dated, ^u uncorrected and ^c corrected (superscript if outer forme, subscript if inner forme), *f* fleur-de-lis.

The watermarks in *The Opportunitie* fall into three main groups: pots, IHS-birds, and grapes. There is a certain orderliness in their distribution. Though the marks in various Caroline plays give the impression of chaos,²⁰ here in a dozen copies we are aware of balance and continuity—a record of presswork in palimpsest form. The striking feature of sheet B is the equal

20. The Warwick Castle-Folger copy of *The Swagging Damsell* has this sequence of watermarks in nine sheets, A to I: grapes, two sorts

of pots, lion, fleur-de-lis/PD, IHS, bird, grapes, IHS.

division into six pot and six IHS watermarks. This division is repeated in sheet C: six pot and three each of IHS and bird watermarks. More startling is the distribution of press corrections in C: the six uncorrected exemplars of the inner forme are printed on the six sheets of pot-G/RO paper, and the six corrected exemplars of that forme are printed on the other two papers. Further, the three uncorrected exemplars of the outer forme likewise appear on the pot paper, backed of course by the uncorrected state of the inner forme. Clearly, so neat a distribution may be fortuitous, for we are analyzing a sample of precisely twelve copies;²¹ yet sheets D, E, F serve to clarify and stress the pattern. This pattern involves multiples of two. Sheet D, indeed, with two spray, seven IHS, and three bird watermarks, varies from even quantities. But E is divided neatly into eight and four, and F into ten and two. (As the IHS mark tends to outnumber the bird, it looks now as if the original proportion of these papers in sheet C may have been four to two.) With sheet G comes a shift to a new watermark and a steady outpouring of grapes, except for two crown marks in H. There are just four instances of uncorrected readings in outer F, and they fall only on IHS paper. The variant formes of G and K are printed on (apparently) invariant paper.²² If in the latter part of the quarto the rhythm of two's is somewhat obscured, it is not obviously disturbed.

The distribution we have observed bears substantial implications for the size of the edition and for the order of the formes through the press. The first is the easier to see. The edition was probably one of 1500 copies. This quantity best satisfies both the distribution ratios and the external evidence.²³ If we adopt the working assumption that each watermark in the

21. Readily factorable into pitfalls and snares.

22. The uncorrected copies are not among the twelve: they are respectively at Huntington and Texas.

23. A case might be made out for 2000 copies

in terms of certain ratios and the number of surviving copies. But 1500 fits all the conditions and exactly suits the hypothesis on presswork discussed later. Similar considerations and the balanced distributions make an edition of 1250 or 1750 improbable.

table represents a half-token of paper (five quires), we can follow the course of the press (or presses) from paper to paper fairly well. We reckon in tokens as the seventeenth-century pressman commonly did. The hypothesis works this way. Whatever was the first forme on the press and the number of presses involved, sheet B used three tokens or 750 sheets each of IHS paper and pot paper. The pot paper was continued and printed the uncorrected state of inner C, using three more tokens and thus completing three reams of pot paper. The rest of the edition sheet must have been made up of a ream of IHS paper and a token of bird paper, or vice versa (the table showing 3's for each). Sheet D used a stray token of spray paper along with perhaps two reams of IHS and a token of bird paper (the ratio being 2:7:3). Sheet E is easy: exactly two reams of IHS and one of bird (8:4); and so is F, with five tokens of IHS and one of bird (10:2). At this point the warehouse boy opened up a bale of grape paper, and the press (or presses) proceeded monotonously through thirteen reams of it (sheet G to half-sheet A), unrelieved except for a token of crown paper which turned up during the printing of sheet H.

An edition of 1500 fits with other evidence and considerations. (1) *The Opportunitie* was made up in three lots, with variant imprints: the main lot for Crooke and Cooke, a smaller one for Crooke alone, and a few copies for sale in Dublin. (2) I have located thirty-six copies in libraries and a dozen others in sale or auction catalogs. Thus the edition was clearly one of some size. (3) Shirley was a popular dramatist in his time and also liked on the Restoration stage; yet Andrew Crooke found it unnecessary to reprint any of Shirley's plays in which he had rights.²⁴ (4) The Stationers' Company had long permitted editions of 1250 and 1500, and the number had been increased to 1500 and 2000 in 1635.²⁵ In July 1639 the Company specifically gave John Benson "leuae to print an

24. He did reprint Fletcher's *Wit without Money* and *The Night-Walker* in 1661.

25. Arber, iv, 22.

Impression of 1500" copies of a second edition of Davenant's play *The Tragedy of Albovina*²⁶—though apparently he did not do so. (5) As Mr. Hinman has pointed out, two sets of headlines (such as *The Opportunitie* has) would hardly save time in presswork, due to the time needed for typesetting, unless the edition was one of at least 1200 copies.²⁷ (6) An edition of 1500 is implied by certain evidence concerning the rate of presswork presently to be offered.²⁸

Before taking up the problem of the order of the formes through the press, we should know the number of presses available. The Cotes establishment was an important one and must have operated at least two presses. The Jaggards had had two in their day. Mr. Willoughby has shown that their output for 1619-1623 averaged more than four hundred edition sheets a year, far more than one press would be able to handle.²⁹ Thomas and Richard Cotes, their successors, carried on a business of similar size.³⁰ And in 1637 a Star Chamber decree allowed the master printers, Thomas Cotes among them, two presses, or, rather, no more than two presses.³¹ As this act seems not to have been closely enforced,³² we need to allow for the possibility that Cotes had a third press, possibly some worn relic of Jaggard days, useful mainly for proofing³³ and for printing

26. Greg, 1, 51.

27. Charlton Hinman, "New Uses for Headlines as Bibliographical Evidence," *English Institute Annual* 1941 (New York, 1942), pp. 208-14.

28. An edition of 1500 means that perhaps 1525 copies of each sheet would be printed. A quire would be allowed for proofs, waste, and possibly a few printer's copies. See Francis R. Johnson, "Printers' 'Copy Books' and the Black Market in the Elizabethan Book Trade," *The Library*, 5th s., 1 (1946-47), 99-100. The extra quire might introduce a foreign watermark into an edition sheet—such as the pot-fleur-de-lis mark in sheet B of *The Opportunitie*.

29. Edwin E. Willoughby, *The Printing of the*

First Folio of Shakespeare (Oxford, 1932), pp. 27-28, and *A Printer of Shakespeare: The Books and Times of William Jaggard* (London, 1934), chs. xii-xiv.

30. Between 1627 and 1640 STC lists 164 books with Cotes imprints, an average of twenty books a year.

31. Henry R. Plomer, *A Short History of English Printing* (London, 1900), p. 179.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 181. For instance, certain disallowed printers, such as John Norton the younger, continued to print.

33. Several bits of evidence point to facilities for easy proofing in Cotes's shop: (1) the relative infrequency of variant formes in Cotes quartos (just 5 out of 19 in *The Opportunitie*, not counting variant imprints); (2) the indications that some of these few variant formes are

broadsides. Two presses, however, would provide ample means for printing six to ten edition sheets a week (depending on the size of the edition),³⁴ along with opportunities for proofing and for minor pieces of presswork.

Thus the resources of the Cotes shop in the Barbican allowed a choice between one press and two presses for the printing of a quarto. The nature of the work, as well as the habits of the shop, would ordinarily decide the question. In general, two presses (printing simultaneously or in relay) might be employed when a single job was in hand or when a certain book was given priority over others; and one press for each might be used when two books were in process and full use needed to be made of workmen, type, and presses. By allocating each quarto to separate compositors and pressmen and a single press, a master printer might reasonably expect that work on two plays would go forward simultaneously without confusion of formes or printed sheets. Circumstances would modify practice, of course, but a system of alternating the work on two presses between two books would have been no system at all. These considerations imply that *The Opportunitie*, as one of a series of play-quartos, would normally be printed on a single press.

For clues as to Cotes's method of handling such quartos, let us turn to the watermarks in *The Night-Walker* and *The Coronation*, their marks being much like those in *The Opportunitie*. The accompanying table shows the distribution in a few copies of these plays. *The Night-Walker* has six watermarks in common with *The Opportunitie*: pot-G/RO, pot-fleur-de-lis, IHS, bird, spray, grapes, plus two others, a lion on a shield and a belt encircling a quartered shield. The distribution looks a little

due to second corrections or "revises" (as in outer C and outer F of *The Opportunitie*; and (3) the further indications that first corrections were made either before printing began or before more than a few quires had been printed (as in inner G and inner K of this play). See discussion below. As for special "proof presses," they are first mentioned in

Restoration times. A table of the "Number of Presses and Workmen Employed in the Printing Houses of London in 1668" lists two proof presses, and assigns Mrs. Ellen Cotes, widow of Richard Cotes, "3 Presses, 2 Apprentices, 9 Pressmen" (Plomer, pp. 225-26).

34. And assuming about 1000 perfected sheets a day.

wild: each copy has five to seven different marks within nine and a half sheets. Yet sheet B has one consistent mark—grapes (its only appearance in the quarto).³⁵ And sheets G and H show a division between two marks, pot and IHS; other sheets a

Watermarks in THE NIGHT-WALKER

	ICU	DFo ^x	DFo ^z	ICN	PU
A	Pot-fl	.....	IHS	Pot-fl	.....
B	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes
C	Belt	Bird	Bird	Spray	Bird
D	Lion	Bird	Belt	Lion	Bird
E	Pot-fl	IHS	IHS	IHS	?
F	Belt	Pot-fl	Pot-fl	IHS	Pot-fl
G	IHS	Pot-fl	Pot-fl	IHS	Pot-fl
H	Pot-fl	IHS	IHS	Pot-fl	IHS
I	IHS	Belt	IHS	Bird	IHS
K	Belt	IHS	Pot-?/RO	Belt	Spray

Collation: A² B-K⁴. Copies: Chicago, Folger (DFo^z Inderwick), Newberry, Pennsylvania.
Abbreviation: fl fleur-de-lis.

Watermarks in THE CORONATION

	ICU	DFo	DLC	ICN	S
A	Grapes	.....	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes
B	Bird	Grapes	Grapes	Belt	Belt
C	IHS	Bird	Belt	IHS	IHS
D	IHS	Bird	Grapes	IHS	IHS
E	Grapes	Bird	IHS	Grapes	Bird
F	Belt	Grapes?	Grapes	Crown/GP	Grapes?
G	Grapes?	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes
H	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes
I	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes	Grapes?	Crown/GP
K	Grapes	Grapes?	Grapes?	.....	.....

Collation: A² B-I⁴ K². Copies: Chicago, Folger, Library of Congress, Newberry, Stevenson.

35. Raising the suspicion of a reprint or cancel sheet.

division among three, as lion twice with bird and belt in sheet D, and IHS thrice with the same pair in sheet I. Without further evidence we cannot say whether such distributions are characteristic of the use of two presses. The case of *The Coronation* is clearer. With just two to five watermarks to a copy, it has four in common with *The Opportunitie*: IHS, bird, grapes, and crown/GP, plus the belt mark found in *The Night-Walker*. Their relatively simple pattern is surprisingly like that of *The Opportunitie*. There is the same general progression from IHS-bird to grape papers, except that *The Coronation* reached the run of grape paper at F, one sheet behind *The Opportunitie*.³⁶ In sheets B and C of *The Coronation* the belt paper occupies more or less the place of the pot-G/RO paper. The IHS paper continues commoner than the associated bird paper. And again the crown paper occurs sporadically among the reams of grapes.

The inference is inescapable: *The Coronation* was going through the press at very nearly the same time as *The Opportunitie*.³⁷ Placed side by side, the tables tell a similar story of moving from IHS and associated papers into a long run of grape paper. The simplest explanation is that the two plays were being printed on separate presses fed by the same job-lot supply of paper. There is again the contrary suggestion of more than one press in the use of three papers in sheets B to F of *The Coronation*, but just such a mixture of papers may have come from the stockroom. The very differences in the two sets of watermarks support the hypothesis of separate presses. During the printing of sheets B and C of these plays press 1 was supplied with several reams of pot paper, and press 2 with a similar amount of belt paper. At sheet F, press 2 (printing *The Coronation*) came upon a little more belt paper, possibly a remainder from its earlier use. The spray paper occurs only in *The Opportunitie*. And only in *The Coronation* does the grape paper turn up

36. That is, if they reached this paper on the same day, *The Opportunitie* was a day or two farther advanced in its printing.

37. *The Night-Walker* as clearly was not, though it may have preceded (or followed) these plays.

from time to time before the main body of the grape paper is reached.³⁸ Thus, the general similarities and particular differences together argue that the two plays were printed on separate presses during approximately the same period of time.

That this is probably the right view, at least for the latter two-thirds of *The Opportunitie*, is attested by the apparent fact of a single compositor there. When composition must keep up with two presses, we may expect to find alternate setting by two compositors. But when a single press undertakes an edition of 1250 or 1500, one compositor should be able to keep up with its demands.³⁹ Though there are signs of two compositors in the first third of the play, particularly in sheet C, for the present it is safer to assume a single press there, too.

Now we can attempt to plot the order of the formes through the press, using what we know of compositors, headlines, corrections, the edition size, the presses available—and the papers laid out. As some of the evidence is itself inferential and limited by the number of copies examined, and as the patterns of the watermarks are under consideration as new evidence, we need rather to explore the more likely methods of presswork than grasp at conclusions. However, the new material considerably extends the range of enquiry and perhaps leads us close to right answers.

For the present we assume that 1500 copies of *The Opportunitie* were printed on a single press.

Sheet B has been composed. Skeleton X has been made up and placed about its inner forme, and skeleton Y made up (with an ornament at the head of the first page of text) and placed about its outer forme. Whichever forme went first on the press might be a matter of chance if B_{4v} was composed before the press was made ready or if preliminary proofs were taken before presswork began. Though there is some reason to think the

38. Both presses would be supplied from the same stockpile or warehouse room, but the accidents of time and choice would cause

variations in the papers set out for each press.

39. Hinman, pp. 209-12.

normal procedure in Cotes's shop was inner forme on first,⁴⁰ the beginning forme would matter less than later ones. Here, on first analysis, it looks as if the press began with the outer forme. In the absence of variants in sheet B the watermarks offer a clue—that is, the watermarks of B in their relation to the watermarks and corrections of C. Assuming (what is reasonable but uncertain) that the pot papers in sheets B and C were a continuous run of just three reams among the prevailing IHS paper, we see that printing might begin with the outer forme on three tokens of IHS paper, and then proceed to a similar quantity of pot paper. In this manner skeleton Y would be first through the press and available for imposing about the inner forme of C as soon as seven type-pages of this signature had been composed. The shift of the skeleton from an outer to an inner forme would be natural enough.

There is, however, a better explanation of this shift. It lies in the pattern of the headlines through the quarto. As we have noted, there is a shift of skeletons not only after B, but likewise after D (with a turn of skeleton X), after E, and after G; and between I and K—though there is no shift—skeleton X is turned to starting position. Thus we find a rhythm of alternate sheets, except for a change of accent or quickening of tempo at sheet E.⁴¹ I have an idea that the correct explanation is that which Mr. Bowers has recently found for a similar phenomenon in the *Pide Bull Lear*: a shift means the end of a day's labor, or

40. For instance, the headlines of *The Humorous Courier* seem to reflect the rule of inner forme on the press first:

Skeleton X:	B(i)	...	...	E(i)	...	G(i)	H(i)	...	K(i, o)
Skeleton Y:	B(o)	C(o)	D(o)	...	F(i)	G(o)	...	I(i)	...
Skeleton Z:	...	[C(i)]	D(i)	E(o)	F(o)	...	H(o)	I(o)	...

K is a half-sheet. Skeleton Z received changes of spelling after being set. If printing began on a single press with B(i), each inner forme thereafter used either the waiting (or new) skeleton or the first skeleton off. Any mixed method would not work so smoothly, and hitches would occur at E and G if the rule were to send outer formes to press first.

41. In terms of the inner forme the sequence is B(i)-X C(i)-Y D(i)-Y E(i)-X^t F(i)-Y G(i)-Y H(i)-X I(i)-X K(i)-X^t. Exact alternation would have given shifts after C E G I or B D F H.

some like pause in the work.⁴² Indeed, the rhythm suggests a rough printing schedule for the play. We may suppose that Cotes's well-ordered establishment, using two skeletons, normally printed and perfected about 1000 sheets (two reams) on one press in one day.⁴³ Thus, in machining an edition of 1500, completion of a sheet would tend to coincide with the end of the work-day every third day. Ordinarily a sheet begun on a morning would be two-thirds done by the evening and quite finished at noon the next day; and the following sheet would be one-third done by the second evening and completely perfected by the third evening. And, it will be noted, if all went well the presswork on four edition sheets might neatly fill a week.

Then what precisely caused the shifts? Probably the habits of certain compositors in the shop of Thomas Cotes. If the compositor preferred to wait till the end of the day to distribute type,⁴⁴ at the end of any third day he would have on his work-bench both formes of the sheet finished that day. If he placed the second forme on the bench below the first, pushing the first up and out of the way, the second forme (last off the press) would of course be the nearer one to him when he began distributing. And in this situation he would naturally attend to the nearer forme first. If in stripping this forme he placed its skeleton around the next forme designed for the press, and was consistent in the forme he sent first to press, he would bring about the sort of shift of skeleton that occurred four times during the printing of the play. The twice-turning of skeleton X might come from setting the forme down elsewhere before finding room for it on the bench. And the *omission* of a shift between sheets I and K may have been due to the nature of K,

42. Fredson Bowers, "An Examination of the Method of Proof Correction in *Lear*," *The Library*, 5th s., II (1947-48), 31 n.1, 35.

43. Mr. Hinman has computed that a single press using one skeleton "as a rule printed daily about 900 perfected sheets," and remarks that "of course this number could sometimes

be increased by the use of two skeletons." "New Uses for Headlines," pp. 209-10.

44. This would be regular. Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*, ed. T. L. De Vinne (New York, 1896), II, 210; quoted with comments by R. C. Bald, "Evidence and Inference in Bibliography," *English Institute Annual* 1941, p. 17.

which, ending in the midst of K₄^r, might the more readily receive the waiting skeleton X about its inner forme before outer I with skeleton Y came from the press.⁴⁵

We now return to the presswork on the early sheets, better able to imagine how they were handled. We see that the inner forme of sheet B may after all have been first on the press if the completion of work on the sheet coincided with the end of a day. If so, presswork must have commenced sometime during the previous day. Actually the shift may have come about either through beginning printing with the outer forme or beginning distribution with the second forme at the end of the day, though the sequence of shifts favors the latter view. In either case, we assume that the pressman began printing on IHS paper and after about 750 sheets went on to the first tokens of pot paper. If work commenced around noon, about mid-morning of the second day he would turn the pile and, the work moving smoothly, perfect the whole of it before going home to supper. And in the meantime sheet C would have been composed.

Sheet C is unusually interesting because of the close correspondence between its variations in text and paper. The chances are that the printing of this sheet began on a morning with the inner forme (and skeleton Y) on the press. The priority of the inner forme is particularly suggested by the fact that fifty per cent of the exemplars are uncorrected—that half the white paper was printed before the corrector arrived—whereas outer C received corrections after about 15 per cent of its pulls. The pressman, continuing with the pot paper used in B, began in the middle of a ream of it and finished three tokens before pausing for corrections and then going on to a fresh supply of IHS (and bird) paper, on which he impressed the whole of the corrected state. After thus taking 750 pulls of each state, by mid-afternoon he would be ready to turn the pile of printed sheets

45. Or, if imposition took place with both skeletons on the bench, the compositor may have found it easier to send outer K to press

first, because of its three type pages, and therefore transferred to its skeleton Y from the nearer forme of I.

and begin perfecting the lot. He would perfect perhaps a token with outer C (and skeleton X) in uncorrected state, pause again for corrections, and perfect another token with the corrected forme before quitting for the day—if he completed the 2000 daily pulls we have assumed. The following morning would be sufficient for perfecting the remaining 1000 sheets. This treatment of sheet C envisages the “normal” procedure of printing the whole run of white paper with one forme before turning the pile and perfecting with the other forme;⁴⁶ and the pauses for corrections might be suitably filled with the taking of proofs⁴⁷ or necessary work about the press.⁴⁸

However, there is a modification of this method which would make more efficient use of the pressman’s time and such evidence as the relative quantities of uncorrected pulls for the two formes. It is odd that half the pulls of inner C should be uncorrected and a third of these backed with uncorrected pulls of the outer forme—when only three later formes exhibit corrections, and these with normal percentages in different sheets. But, as will be seen presently, sheet C must have been printed around Easter; and on the morning of Easter Even or Easter Monday Tom Cotes or the corrector might come to the printing-house late. Now then. The pressman, while printing the three tokens of uncorrected inner C, may have become aware of the need of corrections and decided not to go beyond the mid-point of the run without them. He had a heap of 750 sheets and had exhausted the supply of pot paper. Having proceeded so far, he might turn the heap, substitute the outer forme on the bed of the press, and begin printing with little fear of smudging. By noon he would have perfected about a token (one third) of

46. For the most satisfactory hypothesis concerning the customary order of proofing, printing, and correction, see Bowers, “An Examination of the Method of Proof Correction in *Lear*,” pp. 28–30, and his fuller discussion, “Elizabethan Proofing,” *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies* (Washington, 1948), pp. 571–86.

47. Such as preliminary proofs for outer C during the first pause or proofs for the other press (*The Coronation*) during either pause.

48. Bowers, “Proof Correction in *Lear*,” p. 42 n. 2, and “Elizabethan Proofing,” p. 578.

the printed sheets, thus completing 1000 pulls for the morning. About this time (we may suppose) the corrector appeared and attended to the inner forme, and then in a burst of virtuosity corrected the outer forme as well.

I am led to this inference not merely by the three to one ratio of uncorrected pulls and the neatness of the hypothesis but by the presence of "literary" corrections in these formes, perhaps one in inner C and four in outer C.⁴⁹ After study of the variant and invariant formes in several quartos, I am of the opinion that Cotes's formes commonly received cursory correction before printing commenced,⁵⁰ and I consider such corrections as those in outer C and outer F, and possibly those in inner C, true stop-press corrections, the second sets of corrections made in those formes. Obviously, second corrections would be made only where first corrections proved insufficient from the point of view of printer's style or reader's sense. There is no way of knowing whether both uncorrected states of sheet C were printed ahead of the corrected states, but this method accords precisely with the evidence. In the afternoon the pressman would go ahead with the corrected formes, presumably first printing the second half of the run of inner C, on IHS and bird papers, and then, towards the end of the day, perfecting about one token with corrected outer C. As before, he would finish perfecting the edition sheet the next morning.

49. Such as "redevivd" for "redevind" at C₁^r 11 and "sister" for "sisters sister" at C₃^r 20. Of literal corrections C(i) has 5 out of 9, while C(o) has just 3 out of 14.

50. The invariant formes in *The Opportunitie* are generally clear of broken type, transposed letters, turned letters, foul case, raised quads, and similar mechanical errors. It is mainly such faults that are marked for correction in the two surviving page proofs of the Shakespeare Folio of 1623, when Thomas Cotes (later clerk of St Giles Cripplegate: Arber, III, 704) was probably Jaggard's foreman and corrector. See Willoughby, *The Printing of the First Folio*, frontispiece and pp. 61-64, and

Charlton Hinman, "A Proof-Sheet in the First Folio of Shakespeare," *The Library*, 4th s., xxiii (1942-43), 101-7. Though Mr. Willoughby takes the *Anthony and Cleopatra* proof-marks as those for a second correction, the high percentage of literal changes and the rarity of the uncorrected state (existent only in the proof itself and the Bridgewater-Huntington copy) suggest the probability that these were the first and only corrections made. Of the *Othello* corrections marked in the Jonas-Folger folio and found in 95% of the Folger folios, Mr. Hinman says (p. 103): "there can be no real question but that the forme was unlocked for correction only once."

There is less evidence as to the manner of printing the sheets that followed C, but what there is fits the hypothesis of 1500 copies printed on a single press at the rate of one edition sheet in a day and a half.

If the perfecting of sheet C was completed on a morning, the press could begin printing the white paper of sheet D in the afternoon. No late corrections were made,⁵¹ and the sequence of the three watermarks is doubtful.⁵² Assuming normal procedure, with the inner forme on the press first and printing the whole run of paper before the exchange of formes, we may suppose that 1000 sheets were printed in the afternoon, that perfecting began about the middle of the next morning, that the sheet was completed by evening. At this point comes the second shift of skeletons—and the turning of skeleton X.

Sheet E is an anomaly, for a third shift of skeletons occurs between it and the following sheet. There are indications of a change of compositors, perhaps in the midst of E^r.⁵³ There are no variants, and the watermarks imply an orderly run of two reams of IHS paper and one team of bird paper. We may imagine some sort of delay, due to holidays, the change in compositors, or the need of the press for other work.⁵⁴ The delay may have been half a day or as much as a day and a half. At any rate, it is convenient to suppose that the printing of this sheet began about noon of one day and ended at the close of the next. For at this point comes the third shift in skeletons.

Continuing our hypothetical schedule, we find particular support for it in the corrections of outer F. If the printing of inner F (invariant) took the usual three-fourths of a day, the press would have time to perfect 500 sheets in the late afternoon.

51. Unless there was an adjustment of the fallen "y" in "young" at D^r 22 (outer forme), its time of falling being uncertain. In copies checked, the defect occurs on all three papers used, and the correct form on spray and IHS papers.

52. For the error may have occurred at any time during the printing of the forme.

53. With a variation in speech-prefix forms. In this sheet only the full spellings "would" and "should" are used, "wud" making its first appearance at Fr^r. And the catchword "Orf.," reminiscent of the compositor of *The Humorous Courter*, occurs at E^r.

54. Such as the printing of playbills (Greg, 1, 35) or the perfecting of a sheet of *The Coronation*.

These correspond to the proportion of uncorrected sheets in the run, one-third. Over night the need of corrections was noted, and they were made. That these were *second* corrections is indicated by the fact that *none* were literal corrections, two amended the sense,⁵⁵ and the remaining five strengthened the punctuation. Presumably, then, the corrected outer forme perfected the last 1000 sheets on the following morning. Noting that the uncorrected state is on IHS paper, we may infer that the perfecting, and therefore likewise the printing of the white paper, commenced with a ream of IHS paper. The order of the other two reams is not clear, but the principle of continuity would put the (token of) bird paper at the end of the run.

At this point the change to grape paper took place. There is nothing to suggest a delay, for the new paper was probably laid out and dampened the night before. Our alternating schedule starts the printing of sheet G in an afternoon. If inner G went on the press first, either several proofs were taken or else printing proceeded while the proofs were being read. For this time the fourteen corrections include five literal changes, nine punctuation additions or substitutions, and *no* alterations of verbal sense. It was a quick job, or one done at lunchtime: only a few uncorrected quires can have been printed, for just one uncorrected copy has come to light. As this copy has a grape watermark,⁵⁶ apparently the whole edition sheet is so marked. On the second day of grape paper the heap would be ready to turn by mid-morning, and perfecting could be completed by night. The fourth shift of skeletons took place here.

Sheets H and I involve no problems and may be assigned to the third, fourth, and fifth days of grape paper. The two crown/GP watermarks among the twelve exemplars in H may be a good clue to the source of the grape paper, but they seem to tell us nothing about presswork.

The imposition of sheet K was accompanied by no shift of

55. At Fr^r 15 "and" became "or" and at 56. The Huntington Library so reports.
F_{2^v} 14 "Lady" was changed to "body."

skeleton but instead a turning of skeleton X as inner K received it. When this forme went on the press (first or last), two small corrections were made in the final type-page after only a few pulls had been taken. (Corrections may have been made already in the three earlier pages of the forme.) These amounted to one perverse change in a speech-prefix⁵⁷ and one correction of broken type. Such changes might be made without removing the forme from the press. And thus the machining of sheet K would go ahead relatively smoothly on grape paper and reach completion about noon of its second day.

With the nine edition sheets of text out of the way, the press would proceed to the preliminaries, half-sheet A. At about this time Shirley, on arriving from Ireland, visited the printing-house, and penned his dedication to Captain Richard Owen.⁵⁸ In it he tells us he found *The Opportunitie* "emergent from the Presse, and prepar'd to seeke entertainment abroad." If there was no delay, this dedication as well as the title-page should have been in type by the morning on which the last sheets of K were perfected, and the greater part of the required half-sheets might be wrought off the same day. The most likely treatment would be imposition in a single forme⁵⁹ and printing by the print-and-turn method.⁶⁰ That is, the forme would be made up of the title (A1^r), a blank (A1^v), the dedication (A2^r), and "The Actors Names" (A2^v), arranged clockwise in the chase, with the title at lower left (or upper right); and as usual the sheets would be turned endwise for perfecting by the same forme.⁶¹

57. That is, "Bo." to "Bor." at K4^r 15, leaving "Bo." unchanged in line 2 above.

58. Shirley had just crossed the Irish Sea in Owen's ship the *Ninth Wheel*; see my article "Shirley's Years in Ireland," *RES*, xx (1944), 22-28.

59. One might expect to find that the preliminaries of *The Opportunitie* and *The Coronation* were printed together, with both titles in one forme. But they were not: the plays have an identical line of type on their title-

pages, "As it was presented by her." And the title-page of *The Coronation* was not printed when Shirley was about the printing-house, for it assigns this his play to John Fletcher.

60. Dr. Greg shows that half-sheet "a" of Shirley's masque *The Triumph of Peace* (printed by J. Norton, 1633/4) was presumably handled in this manner. W. W. Greg, "*The Triumph of Peace: A Bibliographer's Nightmare*," *The Library*, 5th s., 1 (1946-47), 114.

61. An interesting question arises as to what might have happened if Shirley had not ar-

Now, the matter is complicated by variant imprints and a curious distribution of watermarks. Three lots were made up for the publishers: (1) the main one for Crooke and Cooke, dated 1640; (2) a smaller one for Crooke alone, not dated; and (3) a few copies for Crooke to sell in Dublin, dated 1640. These states exist in percentages of approximately 58, 40, and 2.⁶² The watermark table shows state 1 fairly equally divided between watermarked and unwatermarked ends, but state 2 printed only on watermarked ends. Of five copies of this state examined,⁶³ five are watermarked with grapes, none unwatermarked. (State 3 is the unique Kemble-Devonshire-Huntington copy and is mounted so as to obscure watermarks.) The explanation of this distribution does not seem easy, particularly as we do not know how consistently watermarked ends were arranged in a ream. It probably would be easier for a paper maker to gather sheets consistently, and the run of watermarks in certain folio and quarto sheets seems uniform, but little is known about the point. In the present half-sheet we must assume either a freakish distribution or a fairly consistent arrangement of the sheets on which the undated state was printed.

A possible explanation, offered tentatively, is this. The pressman printed the complete run of the main state,⁶⁴ say 875 copies (three and a half tokens), before turning the heap and perfecting with states 2 and 3. If the title fell on unwatermarked ends during the first ream and on watermarked ends during the rest of the run, the ratio of blanks to marks for state 1 would be

rived home in time to include the dedication. Cotes could have printed the title and *dramatis personae* back to back within a half-sheet, but he seems to have had little liking for quartos beginning with a blank leaf. He might have put in the catalog of Shirley's publications which fills a page in the preliminaries of *The Maid's Revenge* and *The Humorous Courier*; or he might have had a dedication from another hand, something like the one Andrew Crooke furnished for *Loves Crueltie*. The problem did not arise in printing *The Coronation*, for it has a prologue to fill out its preliminary half-sheet.

62. My census at present locates 28 copies of state 1 (20 in libraries), 19 of state 2 (14 in libraries), and 1 of state 3 (at the Huntington Library).

63. The four in the table plus the Huntington copy.

64. Typographical relationships imply the sequence of states here assumed. The undated state looks like a hasty modification of the main imprint, for words are run together. The date "1640" in the Dublin imprint is reset.

about five to four. After the imprint was changed and the heap had been turned, the pressman would be printing the undated title on watermarked ends for the space of a ream and on unwatermarked ends for a few quires beyond, if, say, 625 copies were needed of the two Crooke states.⁶⁵ If we allow a quire for state 3 (a few copies to sell in Dublin), the ratio of marks to blanks for state 2 would be about five to one. However, the press would go on perfecting so that the whole of state 1 might include the dedication. The objection to this method is that it wastes upwards of 250 half-sheets, though some allowance may be made for proofs, unsatisfactory pulls, and possibly printer's copy books⁶⁶ and title-pages to be used as posters. On the other hand, an initial run of 875 or 900 sheets would just about fill an afternoon, and would conveniently put the whole of the main state on one side of the sheet. No simple, economical explanation seems available.⁶⁷ When ingenuity tires, we may fall back on eccentric distribution as an almost-acceptable answer.

Thus far we have assumed that *The Opportunitie* was printed wholly on a single press. We need now to explore briefly the possibility that a few of the early sheets were printed instead on two presses. Reasons for making allowance for this possibility include: (1) the neat division between pot and other watermarks in sheets B and C; (2) the evidence of two compositors in C, suggesting rapid composition; (3) the three to one ratio of uncorrected pulls in the two formes of C, suggesting a lag

65. This assumes proportions of 7 and 5 for the Crooke-Cooke issue as against the two Crooke issues.

66. In view of an ordinance of 1635, Cotes may have allowed his men copy money instead of copy books; see Johnson, 'Printers' 'Copy Books' and the Black Market,' p. 99.

67. The main alternative would be printing in half-formes alongside other material; but it is difficult to identify possible material. As

we have seen, it could not be half-sheet A of *The Coronation*. Nor would it likely be half-sheet K of that play, for it uses the headlines from outer I in a pattern which apparently implies imposition in a single forme; see Mr. Bowers' discussion of headlines and half-sheet imposition in this present volume. No other plays of the group have the grape watermark in their preliminaries, except *The Swaggering Damsell*, and in that play they occupy a full sheet.

between presses; and (4) the incidence of Easter, 5 April 1640,⁶⁸ and consequent abnormal working conditions in the printing-house. These reasons are not material, but they are clues worth investigating.

The equal balance between pot and IHS watermarks in sheet B urges the idea of simultaneous printing on two presses. Simultaneous printing would seem a natural method for machining the first sheet of a play, if two presses were available.⁶⁹ Press 1 (say) might begin with the inner forme (skeleton X) and print a ream and a half of pot paper, while press 2 would take the outer forme (skeleton Y) and print a similar amount of IHS paper. At this point the pressmen would exchange heaps and begin to perfect each other's work. The first man through would provide the first forme on of the next sheet; and this in itself might cause such a shift in skeletons as that between B and C.

At this stage single-press printing might begin, or both presses might continue. However, sheet C cannot have been printed simultaneously, for the uncorrected states are found back to back. The relay system might be used—that in which one press prints and the other perfects.⁷⁰ Following this method, we may suppose that press 1 would continue with pot paper, using up the second ream and a half of it before pausing for corrections. When they arrived, it probably would go on to impress the corrected inner state on IHS and bird paper. In that case press 2 might follow after a ream or so with the uncorrected state of outer C.⁷¹ An advantage of this procedure is that press

68. Julian reckoning. Checked by a perpetual calendar and an almanac for 1640.

69. Both presses might be available if Cotes was not yet ready to start printing *The Coronation*. As noted, *The Opponisitie* was one sheet farther along when it reached the grape paper.

70. For discussions of the relay or "staggered" method see Edwin Wolf 2d, "Press Corrections in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Quartos," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, xxxvi (1942), 193-96, and

F. R. Johnson, "Press Corrections and Press-work in the Elizabethan Printing Shop," *Ioc. cit.*, xl (1946), 285-86.

71. The shift from simultaneous to relay printing might be decided on if one press had got ahead of the other while perfecting B, or if one press took a special job for a few hours, or if a pressman came late to work. Of course, the relay method might have been used for B as well, though it seems less likely for a first sheet using equal amounts of two different papers.

2 might receive corrections at much the same time as press 1, that is, after press 1 had printed three tokens (half the run) and press 2 had perfected about one. If the inner forme received its corrections first, the lag of the second press might be more than a ream, and there would be little danger of smudging. But all three papers would have to originate with press 1.

The apparently balanced distribution of papers in sheet C suggests an interesting variation. After press 1 had printed the three tokens of pot paper, it could receive the outer forme and begin perfecting. In the meantime inner C, now corrected, might find press 2 idle and use it for printing the second half of the edition sheet, on IHS and bird paper laid out for that press. Press 1 after perfecting a token would need to stop for corrections, about midday. It might end in perfecting the sheets printed by both presses.

Whatever the system used to print sheet D, it looks as if perfecting was completed at the end of a day, when a shift of skeletons took place. The time needed for relay printing is not easy to reckon, but two presses could handle an edition-sheet of 1500 in one day if the second press followed the first by two or three tokens. In the meantime, however, the first press would be able to go on to new work.

The uncertainties are too many in view of our little acquaintance with two-press work and the meanings of watermarks. At present the best evidence in favor of the use of two presses in any sheet of *The Opportunitie* seems to be that of two compositors at work on sheet C—where there might be the need of keeping up with two presses turning out sheet B. Actually, the intrusive compositor seems to have set just two pages of C, and there might be various reasons for his appearance. If we could assign a single two-press method to sheets B, C, D, the idea of two presses would be more attractive. Or if the pot paper of B and C extended into D, we might accept two-press printing for B and C. However, so neatly does the one-press hypothesis fit with the meaning suggested for the skeleton

shifts, with the apparent relation between press corrections and watermarks in sheets C and F, and with the evidence of parallel work on *The Opportunitie* and *The Coronation*—there seems little reason to look for an ornate explanation. At the same time, it is manifest that we need more light on two-press methods; and it looks as if variant watermarks, when studied, may furnish some.

There remains the question of the approximate period during which *The Opportunitie* was put through the press. We have a fairly definite *terminus ad quem*. After some three years in Ireland, Shirley returned to England in mid-April 1640.⁷² He must have reached London about Monday, April 20.⁷³ As he found his play “emergent from the Presse, and prepar’d to seeke entertainment abroad,” we may take it that sheets B to K were then printed and ready, or sheet K was coming from the press. Reckoning back in terms of 1500 copies, a single press, and the skeleton shifts, we can make a schedule with tentative dates. It starts on April Fool’s day and need not be taken as revelation.

April 1, 2, 4 (Wed.-Sat. of Holy Week). Sheet B composed and printed. A compositor would set about six pages on the first day,⁷⁴ and printing might begin late on the morning of the 2nd. If the pressman did not labor on Good Friday, but worked all day Saturday, he would finish perfecting the sheet by that evening; and the first skeleton shift would come at the end of a week. Meanwhile, sheet C would be composed, one compositor setting two pages on Thursday afternoon (say) and another the remaining six on Saturday.

April 6-11 (Easter week). Sheets C, D, E printed; C and D on the first three days, E after a delay (of uncertain length) on Friday-Saturday. The late corrections in inner C may be due to

72. “Shirley’s Years in Ireland,” pp. 25-27. Richard Whitaker. *Bibliography*, I, 53.

73. A week later, on April 28, two plays which he probably had brought with him from Ireland were entered on the Register by

74. Hinman, “New Uses of Headlines,” p. 209.

the late arrival of the Cotes brothers or their corrector on Easter Monday. Skeleton X got turned at the time of the delay, and the week ends with the third shift of skeletons.

April 13-18 (Mon.-Sat.). Sheets F, G, H, I printed. If inner F was printed first and outer F was the perfecting forme, corrections must have been made between days after a ream of uncorrected pulls. The press handled a normal week's run of four edition-sheets. At the end of the week skeleton X got turned again.

April 20-22 (Mon.-Wed.). Sheet K and half-sheet A printed. Shirley came to the printing-house on Monday or Tuesday and wrote the dedication to Captain Owen. If there were no delay, the half-sheet might be printed on Tuesday afternoon and perfected on Wednesday morning. Gathering into copies might take place later the same day.

Though there is no way to check the details of this schedule, the general idea in it seems right enough, and the imagined sequence is instructive. We realize that one press would take nearly three weeks to produce an edition of 1500 copies. We note that Easter may have contributed to the irregularities of sheet C. The shifts and turns of skeleton suggest reasonable allocations of work to particular days and weeks. And through analogy we can measure the amount of time Cotes took to print *The Coronation*, and perhaps the whole series of 1639/40 Fletcher-Shirley quartos.

We can now cast up accounts. Study of the variant watermarks⁷⁵ in *The Opportunitie* has enabled us to draw several useful inferences: (1) It was printed in an edition of 1500 copies. (2) It was produced mainly or wholly on a single press parallel with *The Coronation*. (3) Late corrections, when made, occurred be-

75. The term job-lot watermarks proves inadequate. For any shift of marks within an edition sheet or between sheets, whatever its cause, may be valuable evidence. Some quartos contain only two or three different watermarks; for instance, the Chicago copy of Shirley's *S: Patrick for Ireland* (Raworth,

1640) contains two varieties of hand watermark, probably from the same factory; and their sources usually will not be job-lots of paper. The term variant watermarks may be used safely enough in general situations, though most advantageously where a dominant watermark provides a norm.

tween tokens or reams, and sometimes at noon or night. (4) Composition and presswork on the quarto took approximately the first three weeks of April 1640.

Similar study of other play quartos, and indeed books of various formats, dates, and printers, should improve the quality of such inferences, and should throw light on two-press work and other procedures of the printing-house. One weakness of watermarks as evidence is their inherent ambiguity. And they lend themselves to subtleties and complications. Clearly, he who looks for meaning in their permutations needs to temper ingenuity with calm common sense. Bibliographers who fear madness may prefer to let them alone.

There are, however, some simple uses of variant watermarks that may help to preserve sanity. I mention three.

First, an obvious point. Everyone knows that in first editions the preliminaries were commonly printed last, but everyone cannot readily demonstrate the fact. A glance at the tables of watermarks found in *The Opportunitie* and *The Coronation* is enough to assure oneself that half-sheet A of both these plays was printed at least among the last. However, the continuity of watermarks is sometimes lacking, as in *Loves Crueltie* and *The Night-Walker*; and in such cases there may have been a delay in printing the preliminary half-sheet.

The second point presents a useful corollary. As press corrections are ever a highly important source of evidence as to what an author wrote, we need aids in searching them out. Variant watermarks are such an aid. After the investigator has listed the watermarks in several copies of a book, he will sometimes find such a contrast between papers as we have noted in sheets C and F of *The Opportunitie*. In these cases he may well suspect variants and begin collation in sheets with two contrasting marks. Naturally, he will not always find variants: collation of sheet B of *The Opportunitie* in terms of pot and IHS papers yields none; yet collation of the same papers

in sheet C brings to light corrections in the inner forme, and may do so likewise in the outer forme. Clearly this should prove a time-saving device. Working without knowledge of the watermarks, one might examine five or even seven copies of *The Opportunitie* (among the twelve of the table) before finding variants in inner C. In collating some other sheets, the student would have fewer rewards, but before long he would have reason to suspect that most of the formes are invariant.

The principle is simply this: Since textual variants sometimes occur on contrasting papers, one should collate formes printed on such papers first. To this may be added: Since composition of pages in normal order favored a custom of sending the inner forme to press first and the first forme might wait some time for corrections,⁷⁶ one should collate inner formes first, at least in two-skeleton printing.

My first attempts to apply the principle were instructive. Noting that my copy of *The Coronation* differed from the University of Chicago copy in watermarks in several sheets, I collated these sheets—and found no variants. Then I realized that only in sheet E were the contrasting marks (bird and grapes) representative, so far as I could tell from five copies. Next I compared the Inderwick-Folger copy of *The Night-Walker* (using a microfilm) with the Newberry copy. The first two sheets I tried yielded variants. Sheet C, with bird and spray marks, proved variant in its inner forme. Sheet G, with pot and IHS marks, proved variant in its outer forme. Testing farther, I listed the watermarks in three copies of *A Pastorall Called the Arcadia*, "Written by James Shirly Gent." (an unlikely attribution) and printed by John Dawson, 1640. It is evident that Dawson was buying some of the same job-lot papers that Cotes bought. I noted that in sheet C my copy agreed with the Newberry copy in its watermark (lion on a shield) but not with the Chicago copy (15 grapes). Turning at once to the inner forme, I found no corrections on C₁v, but at C₂² 4 "wif-

76. Cf. Bowers, "Proof Correction in *Lear*," p. 29 and note.

per" in my copy and "whisper" in the Chicago copy. Thus admonished, I did not shout. But, whatever my run of luck, I was confident I had a gadget that would save some time in collation.

The third (and last) point illustrates the surprises that may lurk in watermarks. Examining the University of Chicago copy of *The Queene of Arragon*, by William Habington, I rejoiced to find three watermarks I knew well—in the midst of folio pages where I could measure them: several IHS marks, many grape marks, and once the bird with wings outstretched. A few days later I looked at the Newberry copy, and discovered a startling thing. The watermarks were different. No IHS marks, no bird mark, just one thin page with grapes. The prevailing mark in the Newberry copy is a long heraldic panel surmounted by a thin cross, the whole not too plain.⁷⁷ The paper is thicker than the intrusive grape paper and apparently of a better sort. What is the solution to this little mystery? Although I have not had the copies side by each, I can hardly doubt they are the same setting. The play (collation A² B-H⁴ I³) is probably too long to leave in standing type. My guess is that Habington, a butterfly sort of courtier-poet, had a number of copies printed on better-grade paper for himself and his friends, and that Tom Cotes simply included a token or so of this paper in the paper laid out for each sheet. It might be printed last in each edition-sheet so as to benefit from corrections. There would have to be care in gathering the fancy copies, and it is not surprising that one bunch of grapes got in by accident or lack of a fine-paper sheet.⁷⁸ I have no idea whether such special printings were rare or not. "The matter deserves further study."^{78a}

77. This appears once in ICU—in the title-page (A1).

78. This sheet, F2-3, has the grape watermark in both copies.

78a. Since writing this paragraph I have seen

another copy of *The Queens of Arragon*, at the University of Pennsylvania. It contains none of the fine paper and resembles the Chicago copy, having as watermarks grapes (small), IHS, and once each a pot-G/RO and a large bunch of grapes. As it is the tallest of the three

The purpose of this paper has been to call attention to the significance of variant or dissimilar watermarks for bibliographical study. Certain findings of the paper are naturally tentative, subject to the discoveries and corrections of further investigation. But enough has been done to show that the new tool, when its subtleties have yielded to patient analysis, will take its place beside press corrections, headlines, and our knowledge of hand presses as a useful means of enquiry into the manner in which books were made. Actually the tool is an old one put to new employment. A generation of scholars has used inconsistency in watermarks to spot cancels,⁷⁹ inserted sheets,⁸⁰ mixed issues, standing type,⁸¹ made-up copies, facsimiles,⁸² and other irregularities. Indeed, *les filigranes* have come a long way since Briquet compiled his distinguished work, and since A. W. Pollard remarked in the 11th *Britannica* that watermarks are helpful in distinguishing between gatherings. I believe that their aid can be extended to the study of various normal, though relatively complex, situations, and that this aid will prove substantial when it is properly correlated with other bibliographical evidence.

copies (12 1/8 x 7 1/8 in.), Newberry appears not to be a "large paper" copy. Two instances of presentation copies of play-quartos printed on fine paper are Jonson's *Sejanus* (1605) and *Volpone* (1607); see Greg, *Bibliography*, I, 342, 391. Mr. Heywood mentions several works printed on large paper in his "Further Notes," pp. 131-32.

79. Cf. McKerrow, p. 225. A recent example

is in Southerne's *The Disappointment* (1684); Ray O. Hummel Jr., *The Library*, 5th s., I (1946-47), 68.

80. E.g., in a reprint of Cowley's *Works* (1688); W. W. Greg, *The Library*, 4th s., III (1922-23), 55.

81. As in the 1693 edition of Cowley: *ibid.*, p. 56.

82. McKerrow, p. 233.

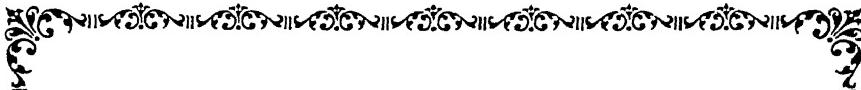
THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

Bibliographical Notes

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA



FIGURE I
St. Memin's Landon Carter



Bibliographical Notes

A ST. MEMIN PLATE, WITH SOME NOTES ON OTHER ST. MEMIN PORTRAITS

FIGURE 1 of the appended illustrations shows a St. Memin copper plate portrait of Landon Carter, now the property of Mr. Dabney Wellford of Sabine Hall. It is important for several reasons. Of the St. Memin plates that have survived, it is one of the ones which have not been steel faced by modern engravers for restrikes. It is the only one known which carries even a portion of a manufacturer's mark on the verso, thus showing the source of St. Memin's copper plate supply at least in one instance:

WHITTOW & SON
31. SHOE LANE
(H)OLBORN LONDON

Its discovery at Sabine Hall, furthermore, corrects a long standing misattribution of the represented features.

The following memoranda on St. Memin portraits of Virginians are all supplementary to the book *Saint-Mémin in Virginia*, Richmond, Dietz Press, 1942.

TARLTON BATES (an engraving, included neither in Dexter nor Corcoran, with "Drawn & engr^t by St Memin Philad^s" under the medallion, is owned by Miss Caroline Bates Singleton, 5502 Clemens Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.). He was born in Virginia in 1775, became prothonotary of Alleghany County, Pa., and was killed in a political duel in Pennsylvania in 1806. His brother was James Woodson Bates (Dexter No. 596. Corcoran 43).

LANDON CARTER (see above and Norfleet, p. 151 and p. 115, where the plate is incorrectly titled "John Tayloe Lomax").

ROBERT BAYLOR CARTER (Dexter No. 565, which is incorrectly titled "L. Carter." Corcoran Folio 49. The crayon is owned by Leslie C. Garnett, Esq., Chevy Chase, Md.). He was the son of Jessie Carter, Revolutionary soldier and Episcopal minister, who married, first, Hannah Baylor (mother of the crayon subject), and second, Juliet Garnett, whose daughter, Lucy Lyne Carter (married James Jamison Garnett) was the only heir-at-law of Robert Baylor Carter when he died, intestate, in Caroline County, Va., October 10, 1836. The grandfather of Robert Baylor Carter was Dale Carter, of Lancaster County, rector of Drysdale Parish, King and Queen County.

ROBERT GAMBLE, JR. (Dexter No. 598, which is incorrectly titled "T. H. Harris." Corcoran Folio 42. The crayon was owned in 1944 by Dr. Cary Breckenridge Gamble, now deceased, of Baltimore). Born in Richmond, Va., in 1781, he was the son of Robert Gamble (of whom only a crayon exists; see Norfleet, p. 164), and his wife Catharine Grattan. On July 2, 1808, he married Letitia Breckenridge (b. Oct. 26, 1791, in Fincastle, Va.—d. Oct. 10, 1866, in Baltimore), daughter of James Breckenridge (Dexter No. 608. Corcoran 39). In 1827, he moved to Jefferson County, Florida, and, subsequently, to Baltimore, where he died in 1867. He had ten children.

THOMAS JEFFERSON (Dexter No. 10. Corcoran Folio 51. The copper-plate of this engraving is now at the University of Virginia Library.)

MERIWETHER LEWIS (Water color miniature. This full-length, full-face portrait of the subject in frontiersman dress was engraved by William Strickland and published in the *Analeptic Magazine and Naval Chronicle*, Philadelphia, Vol. 7, 1816, facing page 329, for which see Norfleet, p. 184. This water color miniature was sold by C. W. Lyon, Inc., New York, in 1948.)

JOSIAH PARKER (Dexter No. 494. Corcoran Folio 12. The copper plate is owned by Mrs. Helen Chalmers Quillan, Mason St., Smithfield, Va.)

WEST PEYTON (Dexter No. 525, which is incorrectly titled "Bartleman." Corcoran Folio 49. The crayon is owned by Mrs. Walter Wilmot, "Afterglow Way", Montclair, N. J.), of Alexandria, Va.

JOHN HILL SMITH (Dexter No. 609, which is incorrectly titled "J. Edbretz." Corcoran Folio 40. A proof of the engraving has descended to Mrs. Charles C. Cox, "Inglewood Farm", Waverly, Va.) Born May 14, 1783, he was the eldest son of Col. Larkin Smith, of "Rickahock", King and Queen County, Va., and his wife Mary Eleanor Hill, and brother of Charles Henry Smith (Dexter No. 221. Corcoran Folio 41). He attended the College of William and Mary in 1799, and was Captain of the Williamsburg Troop, War of 1812. In the decade beginning with 1830, he became Special Commissioner of Revolutionary Claims, living in Richmond, where he died Sept.

25, 1843. He married Mary Carey Ambler (May 1787-September 1843), daughter to Edward and Mary Carey Ambler, of Jamestown. His son, Edward Harvie Smith, M. D., was surgeon-in-chief of Chimborazo Hospital, Richmond, during the Civil War, and afterwards became consul at Naples. His grandson, Edward Harvie Smith, Jr., was one of the V.M.I. cadets in the Battle of New Market.

GEORGE WISE (the crayon is owned by George Wilson Gunn, Esq., 1303 South First St., Louisville, Ky.; see Norfleet, p. 224), of Alexandria, Va., where he was born in 1778, the son of Peter and Ann Bolling Wise. He died in 1856. By his second wife, Margaret Grier, he had issue Ann Eliza Wise, who married, in 1842, William Knox Wilson, and settled in St. Louis, Mo. The crayon has descended from their daughter, Miss Emma Wilson, of St. Louis, to the present owner, great-great-grandson of the subject.

FILLMORE NORFLEET

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE FROM THE
BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER FIRST FOLIO

In the Beaumont and Fletcher first folio (1647) there are examples of a little-used type of bibliographical evidence: that of progressive changes in the boxlines. The boxlines were apparently made up of a number of flexible pieces which often were bent by the pressure of the furniture in a slightly different way each time they were set up with type. Consequently, a number of minute changes, which progressively developed as the boxlines were used, may be discerned. Because of the flexibility of these rules their evidence is tenuous, but often they will provide a clue as to forme-order or a support for other evidence. Indeed, sometimes even considered alone, this evidence cannot very well be ignored.

For example, in the fifth section of the folio, one set of boxlines had a break in the top line, left side (with respect to the type). This remained constant for many printings, but on 5R₂^r the gap was pushed together so that the rules overlapped. Then, on 5R₃^r the rules were evidently wedged down by the furniture and remained in this position, unchanged, for printing many subsequent formes. Under a glass the progressive change is obvious and definite.

It is probable, then, that at this point the outer forme was printed before the inner forme. (One other small progressive change also supports this assumption.) Also, by the same kind of evidence two quite obvious forme sequences are indicated: that the inner forme of the outer sheet of 5P was

printed before the outer forme of the inner sheet of 5Q and that the outer forme of the outer sheet of 5R was impressed before the outer forme of the middle sheet of 5S (a gathering of three sheets).

A close scrutiny of alterations in the rules that form boxlines, in conjunction with a study of their running-titles, will often, perhaps, reveal clues as to forme-order and provide valuable controls at certain points in bibliographical studies.

GUY A. BATTLE

CENTER RULES IN FOLIO PRINTING: A NEW KIND OF BIBLIOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

EVEN more useful than running-titles for identifying the skeleton-formes used to print a book are the box-rules enclosing the type-pages of various hand-printed folios.¹ Bald and Willoughby have demonstrated that the strips of metal constituting the box-rules were treated by early printers as integral parts of the skeleton-forme. However, a problem which has not been formally considered is the relation of the center rule separating the two columns of a double-column folio type-page to the enclosing box-rules. A study of Section 5 of the 1647 Beaumont and Fletcher Folio produces previously unsuspected bibliographical evidence which, when fully developed, may make possible a more minute study of the processes of early printing.

The first fact revealed is that the center rule² does not bear to the box the same relation which the box maintains to the skeleton-forme: in other words, the center rule cannot be considered an integral part of the skeleton-forme.

1. R. C. Bald in his monograph, *Bibliographical Studies in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647* (1938) and E. E. Willoughby's earlier study, *The Printing of the First Folio of Shakespeare* (1932) made extensive use of the evidence of box-rules to augment the information yielded by the various running-titles. The most recent study of this printing problem, the work of G. A. Battle, appears above in this present volume, supplementing his more extensive study which interestingly demonstrates that under certain conditions the box-rules are more trustworthy than running-titles to identify various skeleton-formes. See his "The Case of the Altered 'C'—A Bibliographical Problem in the Beaumont and Fletcher First Folio," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, xlii (1948), 66-70.

2. For convenience I refer to a center "rule" even though actually a center rule is ordinarily composed of two, or more, short touching rules, one of which is generally longer than the other. The two rules can appear in all possible relations to each other; sometimes both rules are reversed so that the longer section appears at times above the shorter rule, and at other times below it; at other times the sections of the rules maintain the same linear relationship to each other, but are reversed in direction, thus preserving their identity, but rendering the task of following them through the various gatherings extremely exacting.

As an illustration I have made up a table for the various appearances of these center rules in the first six gatherings of Griffin's section (Section 5) of the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio.³

FORME	Box (<i>Center rule</i>)	FORME	Box (<i>Center rule</i>)
5A2 ^v .3	II α (1 α - β)—II b (2 α - β)	5D2 ^v .3	I b (8 α - β)—I α (4 α - β)
5A3 ^v .2	II α (3 α - β)—II b (2 α - β)	5D3 ^v .2	III α (9 α - β)—III b (7 α - β)
5A1 ^v .4	I α (1 β - α)—I b (4 α - β)	5D1 ^v .4	III α (8 α - β)—III b (5 β - γ)
5A4 ^v .1	I α (5 α - β)—I b (. . . .)	5D4 ^v .1	I b (11 α - β)—I α (4 β - α)
5B2 ^v .3	II α (6 α - β)—II b (7 α - β)	5E2 ^v .3	I b (12 α - β)—I α (4 β - α)
5B3 ^v .2	I α (8 α - β)—I b (5 α - β)	5E3 ^v .2	II b (6 α - β)—II α (13 α - β)
5B1 ^v .4	III α (9 α - β)—III b (4 β - α)	5E1 ^v .4	I b (2 α - β)—I α (3 α - β)
5B4 ^v .1	I α (7 α - β)—I b (5 α - β)	5E4 ^v .1	II b (7 β - α)—II α (1 α - β)
5C2 ^v .3	.....—II b (10 α -.)	5F2 ^v .3	III α (13 β - α)—III b (6 α - β)
5C3 ^v .2	II α (1 β - α)—II b (. . . .)	5F3 ^v .2	III α (. . . .)—III b (2 α - β)
5C1 ^v .4	II α (3 α - β)—II b (1 β - α)	5F1 ^v .4	II b (12 α - β)—II α (10 α - β)
5C4 ^v .1	I b (2 α - β)—I α (6 β - α)	5F4 ^v .1	II α (12 α - β)—II b (1 β - α)

For the purpose of clarity short or partial center rules have been recorded in the table only when they reappear later in the section. Center rule 5 γ replaces 5 α on 5D4. 5C2^v is a blank page.

The evidence of this partial table shows clearly that because of the irregular occurrence of the center rules within the various skeletons and their boxes, no reliance in difficult cases may be placed upon center rules as a means of identifying the box-rules in which they are found.

The irregular appearance of these rules requires explanation. When the printer came to impose the type-pages of a new forme, the box-rules enclosing the wrought-off type-pages would be transferred as an integral part of the skeleton; but on the evidence of the table, the center rule—in effect a part of the type-page itself—was not removed from the type-page until distribution of at least one column of type had been effected. The reason would appear to be fairly simple. To leave the center rule between the two columns is

3. The boxes, which in effect represent the skeletons, are composed of two horizontal rules enclosing the running title, another horizontal rule at the bottom of the type-page which separates it from the tail of the page, and two vertical rules along the right and left margins of the type-page. There are two such boxes in each skeleton-forme; therefore, for the sake of clarity, we shall number each of the three skeleton-formes used in printing this section I, II, and III, further distinguishing

the two halves with the letters α and β . Thus, the inner sheet of gathering 5A was printed with skeleton-forme II α -II b ; and the outer sheet of the same gathering was printed with skeleton-forme I α -I b . At times the boxes are reversed in position, as in the outer forme of the outer sheet of gathering 5E, which was perfected with skeleton-forme II b -II α . In the same manner are numbered the center rules, using arabic numerals, with α and β to distinguish the two touching sections of the rule.

obviously an expedient to prevent the piecing which would almost certainly ensue if the rule were removed before the compositor was ready to distribute the type.⁴

The recurrence of these center rules in different formes, however irregularly, indicates that the compositor found it a convenience to have on hand a supply of rules made up to the proper length. We should thus expect him to lay the center rule aside on the bench, once it had been freed from its type-page by the distribution of a column of letterpress. Hence, there is the possibility of estimating at least the maximum distribution period for a type-page by tracing the reappearance of its center rule in another forme. This evidence, of course, can never be completely exact. We have no reason to believe that a compositor would always pick up a center rule in the precise order in which it had been laid aside on the bench. Moreover it is necessary to inquire just when he would place the center rule between the columns of a newly-composed type-page. The answer is of some interest as revealing the precise way in which, on the evidence of Griffin's section, a large double-column type-page was composed.

There are two possibilities. First, after completing the first column of his page, the compositor might take a center rule from the bench, lay it in the page-galley against the type margin, and then proceed to set the second column, transferring type from his composing-stick until the two-column page-galley was complete. If he did so, he would have an uncomfortably large type-page to transfer, by means of his slice, from the page-galley to the composing-stone. That this operation was possible is shown by the various folios which are set in a single column of long lines, but there would seem to be little question that with a double-column page a single column of type would be easier to handle as a unit. For this reason we might expect a compositor to follow the second alternative and transfer the letterpress from his page-galley to the stone after he had completed only a single column. If he did so, he could then (a) place his center rule beside the column, or (b) insert it when the second column was composed and placed beside the first on the stone, or (c) there could be a delay until two completed type-pages were ready and were being imposed from the skeleton of a wrought-off forme.

A study of gathering 5A indicates that, at least for this section of the folio, the compositor adopted the third method (c). When we follow him in the order of composition, we see that type-page 1 recto uses an unidentified

4. We may compare Moxon's description of the manner in which a forme is unlocked: "The Reason why he opens the *Foot-Quoins* first, is, because the *Letter* is less subject to *Squabble* between *Line* and *Line* (that is *Head* and *Foot*, the length of the *Page*) than it is between side and side (the breadth of the *Page*) . . ." (*Mechanick Exercises*, ed. De Vinne [1896], II, 202).

rule, 1 verso rule 1, and 2 recto rule 2. But when on 2 verso we find rule 1 once more, it is clear that this rule can appear in these two pages only if it had been inserted as a part of the process of imposition.⁵

By this demonstration that the rule in question would be placed in a new type-page at the last possible moment, we can narrow our estimate of the spread in time between the moment when a rule becomes available by the distribution of at least one column of its type-page, and the time when the rule is employed again. In turn, this greater precision should enable us to estimate more accurately in these double-column folios the chronological relation between imposition and presswork on a new forme and distribution of the type-pages of a wrought-off forme. Clearly, the kind of evidence afforded by center rules must always be used to supplement and to check the evidence from running-titles and box-rules in any attempt to break down the precise method by which two presses printed a related series of sheets.⁶

JAMES S. STECK

5. If printing, as we must assume, is made from the inside out, forme 2^v.3 would have been the first on the press; hence the center rule from 1^v.4 (which will be the next-to-last forme of the gathering to be printed) would not be available for transfer to 2 verso if either (a) or (b) had obtained. Similarly, rule 2 can appear on 2 recto and 3 recto not if it is

inserted at the moment of composition, but only at the time of imposition.

6. Such a complete analysis still remains to be made of the difficult problem presented by the presswork in Griffin's section of the folio, which seems to have been printed with a second press irregularly assisting the press assigned to the job.

TEXTUAL REVISION IN CRASHAW'S "Vpon the Bleeding Crvifix"

It is commonly thought that Crashaw's religious lyrics "have only the structure that is given by the string in a rosary,"¹ and thus lack the kind of careful, "articulated structure"² often achieved by George Herbert. However, Crashaw was, in fact, capable of this "articulated structure": an interesting example will be found in a comparison of the two versions of the poem entitled in 1646 "On the bleeding wounds of our crucified Lord," in 1648 "On the bleeding body of our crucified Lord," and in 1652 "Vpon the

1. George Williamson, *The Donne Tradition*, p. 114.

2. A term originated by G. H. Palmer in an essay, "The Style," prefaceing his edition of

The English Poems of George Herbert, 1, 139-140, to describe the kind of structure which results from the conscious desire of the poet to make the form of the poem reproduce the movement of the thought.

bleeding Crvcifix A Song."³ The progressive change of name is significant. The emphasis has been shifted from the wounds through the body to the crucifix, and the key to the new structure has been suggested, for the poem has been made consciously cruciform in the later version. No major change has occurred in the thought of the poem, but the deceptively simple transposition in lines two and three of the first stanza and the consequential rearrangement of the order of the following four stanzas evidence a certain intention to provide the 1648 version with an articulated structure in keeping with the new name for the poem.

An examination of the two versions of the first stanza reveals Crashaw's statement of the form in the second version.

1646:	Iesu, no more, it is fullt . de From thy hands and from thy feet, From thy head, and from thy side, All thy <i>Purple Rivers</i> meet.
1648 and 1652:	Iesu, no more! It is full tide. From thy head & from thy feet, From thy hands & from thy side All the purple Riuers meet.

By the single interchange of "hands" and "head," the 1648 stanza immediately becomes cruciform. The second line, "head . . . feet," gives the vertical support, the third line, "hands", provides the crossbar. Furthermore, the words parallel the movement of the hand in making the sign of the cross.

The elaboration of this statement follows to build the articulated structure. In both versions each of the second through fifth stanzas deals with one of the wounds of the Christ. In the 1646 version these stanzas bear no formal relation to the order of the wounds in the opening statement. Thus, "hands . . . feet . . . head . . . side," the order in the first stanza, is expanded in the random manner: "feet . . . hand . . . side . . . head."⁴ In the 1648 revision, however, Crashaw has so rearranged the order of the second through fifth stanzas that the statement of the theme is expanded identically in the stanzas. Thus, the order in the first stanza, "head . . . feet . . . hands . . . side," is reproduced in the same order in the stanzas: "head . . . feet . . . hands . . . side."⁵

3. *The Poems English Latin and Greek of Richard Crashaw*, ed. L. C. Martin, pp. 101, 288.

4. The presence of the singular word "hand" in the first line of the stanza (1646) indicates that Crashaw was not thinking in terms of a formal crucifix since both hands are obviously

needed to form the cross bar. In the 1648 version the word is significantly plural.

5. The concluding four stanzas in both versions indicate the more typical Crashavian structure. A progression in size may be noted: "river, rivers, [flood], deluge."

It is evident that this is no casual rearrangement, but that Crashaw is consciously revising to create a cruciform poem which outlines a small crucifix in the opening lines and proceeds to enlarge the picture in the body of the poem.

GEORGE W. WILLIAMS

THE HALLAM-TENNYSON POEMS (1830)

TENNYSON's *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical* (1830) was originally intended as part of a joint publication to include the poems of his college friend, Arthur Hallam, but when Hallam's father objected to the project it was abandoned and Tennyson published separately his section of the proposed collection. Parental objection to the publication of Hallam's poems had not been made, however, until type-setting had been completed. Hence Hallam ordered some copies of his own section to be run off for private distribution among his family and friends.¹

The obscurity of Hallam's book of poems in this privately issued form has given rise to two major misconceptions. The first—that only two copies have survived—was clarified in 1941 when T. H. Vail Motter made a census listing the details of fifteen known copies.²

A second misconception—that at least one copy of the originally intended joint collection actually survives—still remains to be considered. This error was given credence by Hugh I'Anson Fausset in his biography of Tennyson (1923). After commenting that Hallam's idea of a public collaboration with Tennyson was abandoned only when the volume had actually been put into type, Fausset made the flat statement, "A copy of it exists today."³

1. The above is the accepted account and doubtless approximates the actual facts, although precise evidence is lacking. For example, it seems to be only an assumption that Hallam's poems were still in type and had not been printed though as yet unpublished when his father disrupted the plan. The present makeup of his section presents no bibliographical evidence either in favor of or against a form privately printed for personal distribution. That the typesetting had been well advanced, if not completed, is presumably demonstrated by the simple fact that copies were struck off; also a footnote on p. 62 refers to "my friend, whose name is prefixed with mine to this volume." Although the retention of this last could have been an oversight, the only real question is whether Hallam had a few copies privately printed or whether he took as many already printed sheets as he

required and had the rest destroyed. If Tennyson's section had been planned as the start of the volume, then we must believe the first; if Hallam's were to come initially, then the advertisement leaf concluding Tennyson's *Poems* is not evidence. The proposed order of the two parts is not known. Possibly the appearance in both sections of the printer's imprint is evidence in favor of only the private printing.

2. "Hallam's 'Poems' of 1830: A Census of Copies," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, xxxv (1941), 277-80. The acquisition of James Spedding's copy in the 174-page (or complete) state by Yale University in 1945 now raises to sixteen the number of recorded copies.

3. Hugh I'Anson Fausset, *Tennyson, A Modern Portrait* (London, 1923), p. 48.

This odd statement seems to go back to an unsigned report in *The Bookworm*, a London publication in January, 1894 (vii, 48) which describes the sale at Sotheby's of a copy of the two sections bound together. After explaining the original intention of a joint production, the article continues, "and no copy of the complete book has hitherto occurred for sale. In the copy in question, however, Hallam's poems are included." Such a statement could be read to mean a surviving copy of the originally intended publication, or *The Bookworm* may have meant only that this copy is in the form originally planned. The first reading seems more probable, however, in the light of the statement further on: "Some partially erased pencil notes . . . render it probable that the volume is a unique proof copy belonging to Hallam himself." There is nothing in the context of this passage to indicate *The Bookworm* remarks are directed at Hallam's section alone.

The confusion seems to be based on the assumption (now known to be false) that no copies of Hallam's *Poems* had survived the *non imprimatur*. Therefore, since this volume was in existence, it was explained as a proof copy of the originally intended publication. The ghost raised by Fausset from this shadowy evidence remains to be laid.

The copy described in *The Bookworm* (no. 8 in Motter's census which refers to the 1925 sale, the volume having eluded him thereafter) was auctioned at Sotheby's in December, 1893, where—according to *Book Prices Current 1894*—it was bought by the bookseller Pearson.⁴ It appeared on the market again in a sale at the Anderson Galleries, New York, in December, 1925 (Sale Catalogue no. 2007, item 291), and once more in December, 1933, at the Ritter-Hopson sale of the James M. Kennedy collection, where it was purchased by Tracy W. McGregor of Detroit. After his death in 1936, the book was bequeathed as a part of his collection to the University of Virginia, where it is now preserved in the McGregor Library. That this is the volume referred to by *The Bookworm* writer is sufficiently demonstrated by its exact correspondence to his description, including the partially erased pencil notes.

This book is bound in calf (as described in 1894), with "TENNYSON'S POEMS" lettered on the spine. It begins with Tennyson's *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical* (1830), 154 pages, page 91 misnumbered 19, with "carcanet" on p. 72. The final leaf of advertisements has been removed. Hallam's *Poems*, 174 pages, follow directly, without the preliminary two-leaf fold containing a blank and the half-title, and without the final blank. At the top of page 1 is inked in a printing hand "Poems | by | Arthur Hallam Esqr." Presumably the

4. It was apparently sold by Pearson to S. M. Samuel, for it was then equipped with a red morocco slip-case imprinted, "R. Riviere & Son, | For S. M. Samuel, 1894."

same hand (although in the nature of things this cannot be certain) has also printed on Tennyson's title-page beneath Tennyson's name "& | ARTHUR HALLAM." At the top right hand corner of Tennyson's title in a different hand is written "E.H.F. from Aunt Julia | March 1859."

Throughout the book, both in the Tennyson and in the Hallam sections, are found pencil annotations (most of them partially or completely erased). These are written in what seem to be three hands, all of which are different from the Aunt Julia inscription. The first hand is confined to the written identifications under the titles of three poems in Hallam's section, as "Sir F. A. Doyle", which have not been erased. On the errata page of Tennyson's part is inscribed in what is probably a different hand "To | Edith Hamilton Forsyth", which has been erased but can be read in an infra-red photograph. This writing is somewhat similar to the hand that wrote the identifications, but the inscription is much smaller. Owing to the small amount of the writing it is impossible to make a positive decision, but the two are probably unlike. It is certain, however, that a still different hand has made a number of pencil comments on various poems in both sections, all of them more or less thoroughly erased although some are still readable either by infra-red photographs or by an occasional convenient offset. A sample is the remark on p. 157 of Hallam's section, "I think this would be pleasing if it were intelligible." On p. 5 of Tennyson's *Poems* the writer has copied in quotation marks the next to the last line of the poem "Like a roseleaf I will crush thee" and has drawn two sets of roseleaves.

Unique interest is given to these annotations by the tradition which has grown up that this is a Hallam family copy. *The Bookworm* writer insinuates that these notes are by Arthur Hallam ("Some partially erased pencil notes . . . render it probable that the volume is a unique proof copy belonging to Hallam himself."). Later sales catalogue descriptions of the book ascribe the pencil notes as well as the additions on the title-page to Henry Hallam and identify Aunt Julia in the inscription "E.H.F. from Aunt Julia" as Hallam's sister, Julia, who, according to the fiction, passed the book on to a descendant after Henry Hallam's death in 1859.⁵

The source of this belief is unknown. It is probably based mostly on wishful thinking, although possibly it is also related to the erroneous concept that this was the only copy of the Hallam *Poems* in existence, which

5. Arthur Hallam's sister Julia was married in February, 1852, and died in July, 1888. Aunt Julia cannot be Henry Hallam's wife, Julia, since she died in the 1840's. However, she was the daughter of Sir Abraham Elton, Bart., one of whose sons, Henry, married

Mary Ford and produced a daughter Julia. Charles Abraham Elton, who succeeded to his father, married Sara Smith and among their numerous children was a daughter Julia. There are no Forsyth connections in the immediate Hallam family.

made it seem very probable that the book was Arthur Hallam's own copy, kept by his father after Arthur's death in 1833.⁶

However, the identification of the inscription handwriting as that of Julia Hallam seems most unlikely in the face of the evidence of the bookplate, within the front cover, of John Edwardes Lyall (born 1811 and died 1845), who is apparently the son of George Lyall and Margaret Ann Edwardes. The evidence of his name is corroborated by the fact that he married a Julia Davis, with his sister marrying in 1843 a William Forsyth. Moreover, it is possible to establish the fact that Lyall and Arthur Hallam were acquainted, and presumably friends. The two attended Eton together and were fellow members in the small Eton Society, where they must have become intimate.⁷ Thus it is perfectly natural for Lyall to have been the recipient of a copy of his poems from Hallam, or just possibly from his father.

This book, in its present form except for the binding, must have come into the possession of John Edwardes Lyall early in its history, for he died in 1845 after having been made Advocate General of Bengal in 1842. It is improbable that his bookplate would have been inserted in a book after his death, and since the plate is pasted in the present binding, this makes the combination of the Hallam and Tennyson poems prior to 1845, and almost certainly prior to 1842. The binding, although preserved in a slip-case since 1894, is somewhat loose and shows signs of considerable wear.

In connection with this question of the date at which the Hallam and Tennyson parts were brought together, one group of the pencil annotations has a very considerable significance. These are the partially erased annotations in the same hand commenting on the poems in both sections. In the process of binding the present volume, some of the final letters of this set

6. The usual statement, repeated in all the booksellers' catalogues, reads, "That this was Hallam's own copy is attested by the fact that it is the only copy in existence, by the intimate knowledge of the author's friendships betrayed in the MS notes, and by the inscription on the title-page in the autograph of Hallam's sister."

7. The Eton Society was founded in 1811 by Charles Fox Townshend and became an exclusive social club and debating society. At first the members were known as the "Literati," but eventually the club acquired the less dignified name of "Pop." The number of the members was originally restricted to twenty but was soon raised to thirty. See M. Zamick, "Unpublished Letters of Arthur Henry Hal-

lam from Eton, now in the John Rylands Library," *Bulletin of The John Rylands Library* (Jan., 1934), pp. 197-202; and also H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, *A History of Eton College 1440-1884* (London, 1889), pp. 373-76. Although Hallam attended Trinity College Cambridge, and Lyall attended Balliol College Oxford, both subsequently entered the Inner Temple. The date when Lyall was admitted to the Temple cannot be ascertained from records available in this country, but if he entered (as did Hallam) immediately after graduation from the university, the two would have renewed their acquaintance shortly before Hallam's death. It is of some interest that Lyall's cousin, Sir Alfred Comyn Lyall, was a close friend of Tennyson and wrote a biography of the poet.

have been shaved off, thus establishing the writing of these particular annotations, at least, as prior to the present calf binding, which itself is to be dated as prior to 1842.⁸ So far as can be determined from the relatively small amount of writing preserved, the hand that wrote these pencil comments on various Tennyson and Hallam poems bears a remarkable resemblance to that of Arthur Hallam.⁹ In these circumstances, there is nothing to prevent the hypothesis that Arthur wrote in these two parts already sewn together and then presented them to an Eton (and perhaps Inner Temple) classmate; or else, just possibly, after his son's death Henry Hallam may have sent the volume to a friend, Lyall. Moreover, the comments themselves show such a close interest in the poems as to be more likely those of the author than those of a friend.

Thus, there seem to be two alternatives. If the handwriting is authentically Arthur Hallam's, then this is a presentation copy of the two associated sections made by him, or by his father, to a friend. Or, if the handwriting is that of an unknown person, the book is a made up combination such as could have been done by any individual at any time by combining the two first editions.

There is no justification for the statement that this is a proof copy, for it is not on the paper that would have been used for a proof (the paper seems to be the same as that used in the other first edition of Tennyson's *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical* in the McGregor Library). Moreover the pencil annotations which can be deciphered are not the sort of notes made when reading proof.

Nor is there any justification for assuming that this is a copy of a published book in collected form. Those who believed in an actually published copy of the two sections can have had in mind only one of three possible

8. The history of this volume must be taken as controverting the theory that the ink inscription in 1859 from Aunt Julia to E. H. F. has any connection with Arthur Hallam's sister, Julia. Although from the records available in this country it cannot be established that Edith Hamilton Forsyth was the daughter of Lyall's sister who married William Forsyth, it is most probable that Lyall's wife, Julia, gave the volume to her niece by marriage.

9. I am indebted for the following opinion to Mr. F. L. Berkeley, Jr., Curator of Manuscripts at the Alderman Library, University of Virginia, who compared the writing with photostats of Hallam letters kindly furnished by The Pierpont Morgan Library. He feels that, "the penciled marginalia in this copy

of Tennyson's *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical* (London, 1830; bound with Hallam's poems) have been too well erased to permit positive identification of the writer. It can be said, negatively, that the notes (which were made before the book was bound and trimmed) are not in the hand of Henry Hallam. The formation of those letters that can be clearly distinguished does bear a striking resemblance to the hand of Arthur Hallam. On the other hand, the three names, identifying persons to whom poems are dedicated, are not in the hand of Arthur Hallam, and do bear a considerable resemblance to the less distinctive writing of Henry Hallam, the historian. The words on the errata leaf, 'To Edith Hamilton Forsyth', appear to have been written by a third person, certainly not by Arthur Hallam."

forms: (1) A collection in which the original plan was to sign and page the sheets of the two sections consecutively, not separately as found at present. (2) A "publisher's" title-page replacing either Tennyson's present title-page or Hallam's half-title. (3) A collection which simply binds the two parts as we know them now; in other words, a replica of the McGregor volume but possibly containing the Hallam half-title and very likely cancelling the Tennyson advertisement leaf.

The first is based on what is probably a false assumption.¹⁰ A collection such as the two young men were contemplating would quite naturally be separately signed and paged in its two parts in order that separate issue of some copies could be made if required. To believe that any other form existed, impressed on paper, than is known from the present separate examples of each part is to believe that some sheets of Hallam's part were actually printed consecutively signed and paged with Tennyson's, and then the type-pages were altered for Hallam's private printing. This is an absurdity.

The writer of *The Bookworm* account seems to waver between the second or third possibilities, although he is not overly clear in the matter. The second would require the present Tennyson title-leaf, and possibly the Hallam half-title, to be a cancellans, for which there is no evidence.¹¹ As for the third possibility, any binding of the two parts together in their present form is by no means—as Fausset hastily took it—proof of collected publication. Any private person could perform this operation, and indeed there is a

10. Motter's words, not being bibliographically precise, might seem to give some encouragement to this view: "Hallam's father at the last minute, and when the poems were already in type, forbade the joint publication. The printers, Littlewood and Company, Old Bailey, separated Hallam's fifty titles from Tennyson's fifty-five, and assembled a certain number of copies of Hallam's, which Hallam then quietly presented to his friends." *op. cit.*, p. 277. Actually, Motter does not believe in any form of collected publication, and is speaking only of the makeup that Hallam's section took separately. Yet if the poems were already in type, the separate signing and paging had already been effected as a part of putting the type into page-galley form, and since the text of Hallam's poems began with the first leaf of a separately signed series of gatherings, there would have been no "separation" of the type-pages for printing, unless Motter is implying only that the printing of the Tennyson and

Hallam sections was accomplished at two different times.

11. Or, conversely, a "publisher's" title for the collection as a cancellans for the present titles. Both parts are bound in 12's, with the final gathering of Tennyson's *Poems* a regular quire in 10's, leading to the belief that the fold containing his title-leaf and the errata leaf was printed, as normally, as a part of the final gathering, which concludes with an advertisement leaf. Of course, if a general title for the collection had already been set up in type before the decision was made to drop this form of publication, the present Tennyson title would have been composed and substituted before printing. Any attempt to link the fact that the first text gathering in the Tennyson *Poems* is in 8's instead of 12's with possible re-imposition to exclude preliminaries for the collection would ignore the significance of the final gathering in 10's.

record that one did.¹² In fact, however, no bound-together copies, except for the McGregor volume, are known to exist today.

To conclude, the tracing of the history of the McGregor volume back to the Sotheby sale in 1893 and its establishment as the collected volume described by the writer of *The Bookworm* article demonstrates that, whatever interpretation is placed on his comments in 1894, there is nothing in this book which under any circumstances could lead to a belief, as with Fausett, that a copy of the originally intended collection was ever in existence. The McGregor collection is the unique example of what seems to be a fairly well authenticated joint binding; yet, at best, it can be shown only to have been put together from two separate parts, either by Hallam himself or by Lyall, in what we may suppose is substantially the form the proposed joint publication would have taken with the exception of a general title naming the two authors (never printed) and the doubtful matter of whether the half-title is missing here by design or by accident.

MARY VIRGINIA BOWMAN

12. A volume containing Hallam's poems followed by Tennyson's and inscribed "W. Donne from the Author, May 26th, 1830" was owned by W. B. Donne, the Examiner of Plays and a Cambridge friend of Tennyson and Hallam. It was purchased about 1884 by Colonel W. F. Prideaux, who has stated that Donne himself bound the poems of the two

authors together in order to carry out, in a way, the original intentions of the poets. This copy eventually came into the possession of T. J. Wise, who separated the two parts and sold the Tennyson. See Motter, *op. cit.*, p. 280 and nn. Also *Notes and Queries*, 8 Ser., (January 21, 1893), iii, 52.

RUNNING-TITLE EVIDENCE FOR DETERMINING HALF-SHEET IMPOSITION

BIBLIOGRAPHERS generally have assumed that preliminaries or cancellanda of a book would be printed economically as part of the final text gathering (or *vice versa*) when space permitted. Under ordinary circumstances this may surely be taken as a reasonable hypothesis, but—it should be noticed—only when the two sections are of an unequal number of leaves. In a duodecimo collating π^4 A-N¹² O⁸, as in all the later duodecimos of Sandys's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* except for the 1690 edition, gathering π^4 would surely be printed as the cut-off of the sheet with gathering O. Correspondingly, such formulas as 4°, A⁴(-A⁴) B-G⁴ H⁴(H₄+1[=A₄?]) for Dryden's *Wild Gallant* (1684), and A₁[=O₄?] B-N⁴ O⁴(-O₄) for the anonymous *Feign'd Astrologer* (1668) probably represent the actual facts of printing. Often the physical evidence of a wrap-around in an unrebound copy,

or else aberrant binding, will demonstrate the fact for single leaves. Thus, interestingly, the precise formula for Pordage's *Herod and Mariamne* (1673) as A⁴(-A₁) B-H⁴ I⁴(I₄+1[=A₁]) is proved by the aberrant Library of Congress copy of the 1674 re-issue in which the prologue leaf A₄ is found bound at the end and conjugate with the epilogue leaf I₄+1, the two obviously having been printed as A_{1.4} but the binder in this copy transferring the outer fold in error instead of only the initial leaf.

However, such printing was not invariable, and there are some dangers in assuming it unless positive evidence is found. For instance, if one hunts long enough, one will find the blank initial leaf, as in the Harvard copy, of Behn's *Forc'd Marriage* (1671), which demonstrates that the actual formula for the book is 4°, A⁴ B-L⁴ M⁴(M₄+1), with sig. A₁ blank and genuine and therefore not used to print sig. M₄+1. Correspondingly, in the 1615 folio of Sandys's *Relation of a Journey*, the final blank in the last gathering 2D⁶ is sometimes preserved to indicate that the single-leaf dedication A₁ was not printed there as one might otherwise have expected. Nevertheless, when careful search in a large number of copies fails to turn up such blanks, the natural inference in certain conditions is that the blanks never existed for the simple reason that they were used to print other leaves in the book.¹

The cases mentioned above have concerned the major probability that two sections of a book—one major and one minor—would ordinarily be printed together for economy on one sheet. It is also generally assumed that when a preliminary and the final text gathering each consists of only half a sheet, the two would be printed together. For example, in a quarto collating A² B-L⁴ M², the usual assumption is that A(i) and M(i) would be imposed together for printing as one forme, and—after being perfected by A(o) and M(o) imposed together as another forme—the two halves of the sheet would be cut apart to form a single copy of each gathering. In my opinion this is a dubious assumption, and I suspect that as often as not each was separately imposed and printed by half-sheet imposition, the four type-pages of A in one forme and the four of M in another. The evidence of watermarks has frequently been taken as bearing on this question: if in such a book A², for instance, contained a watermark and M² none, the case was considered demonstrated that the two were printed together. Again in my opinion, for reasons too complex for inquiry here, this watermark evidence is frequently untrustworthy.

1. Even after a prolonged search, such printing can remain only inferential, however, unless an aberrant copy discloses the actual fact of imposition and printing. For instance, in attempting to establish the true formula for

the first gathering of Sandys's 1632 folio *Ovid*, I examined or had reported over 25 copies before a unique copy turned up containing the initial blank leaf.

It is my purpose in this note to suggest a form of truly bibliographical evidence which can be utilized with confidence under certain conditions to determine precisely whether two half-sheets were printed together or separately. (This question is not altogether one of idle curiosity: textual considerations may enter in such a connection.) Since evidence is drawn from the running-titles, one must have a book in which running-titles are present on at least one page each of the outer and inner formes of the half-sheet text gathering under examination.

Given this common condition, the evidence is very simple. If the running-titles from only *one* forme used to print a preceding full sheet of the text are found in *both* formes of the text half-sheet, then this half-sheet was printed by itself by half-sheet imposition. (The order of the titles is important, as will be seen: for a readily determined exception to this generalization, see footnote 2 below.) To demonstrate this fact, all one needs to do is mentally to transfer the quarters (as in a quarto) from a skeleton forme and impose them in the same relative positions about the four type-pages imposed for half-sheet printing. For instance, if the skeleton of inner L is being transferred to half-sheet M, the running-title of L_{1v} should go to M_{1v}, L₂ to M₁, L₄ to M₂, and L_{3v} to M_{2v}. If, in such a book, A (without running-titles) and M were imposed together, inner with inner in one forme and outer with outer in another, the running-titles from certain of the quarters of inner L would be found in the same order as above (depending on the position in the (AM) sheet of the two halves): L_{1v} to M_{1v} and L₄ to M₂, or the corresponding quarters of the other half of the skeleton. But, when the skeleton of the outer forme of L was transferred to the outer (AM) forme, L_{4v} would go probably to M_{2v} and L₁ to M₁, or the corresponding quarters. Thus running-titles from both inner and outer L would necessarily be found in half-sheet M in a manner impossible if M had been printed by half-sheet imposition and the full sheet cut apart to make two copies of the same gathering.²

As a practical demonstration, we may take the second edition of Caryll's *Sir Salomon*, which appeared in 1691 with the collation 4°, A² B-I⁴ K². Here the skeleton of inner H was used to impose the four type-pages of K², and hence one may prove that K² was printed alone by half-sheet imposition. In

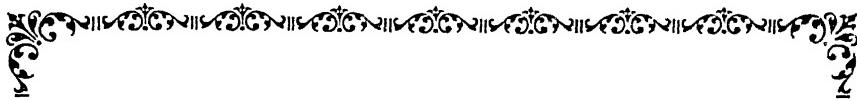
2. A complication would ensue if A² and M² were imposed inner with inner, and then the same skeleton were used to impose the outer formes of each half-sheet for perfecting. But this could easily be detected and the fact demonstrated by the appearance of the identical running-title of M_{1v} on M_{2v} and of M₁ on M_{1v}, an impossibility if the four type-pages of

M had been imposed together in one forme. (The possibility is too remote to consider that the running-titles originally removed from the skeleton in the half used to print the inner forme of A would be substituted for those already present for M in the skeleton of inner (AM) when the outer forme was imposed for perfecting.)

this case the forme of H(i) was turned on the bench before re-imposition (a fairly frequent occurrence of no significance), so that the running-title of H₄ appears on K₁, that of H_{3^v} on K_{1^v}, and that of H₂ on K₂ (K_{2^v} has no title). A more conventional case is the anonymous *Knavery in All Trades* (1664), with the collation 4°, A² B-E⁴ F². When we find the running-title of E_{1^v} going to F_{1^v}, E₂ to F₁, E_{3^v} to F_{2^v}, and E₄ to F₂, we can demonstrate beyond the shadow of a doubt that—as with *Sir Salomon*—the final half-sheet was printed by itself and not imposed together with the preliminary half-sheet to the book.

Why one method would be adopted instead of another is rather puzzling. In books like the Sandys *Relation of a Journey* and the Behn *Forc'd Marriage* where blanks were not utilized to print a necessary single leaf, we may perhaps infer that in each case there was a delay between the printing of the final text and the composition of the preliminaries, so that the printer decided to go ahead without waiting to determine whether the material could be imposed together. This hypothesis will not hold with the second edition of *Sir Salomon*, printed twenty years after the first. So far as I can see, there is no difference in efficiency in presswork in printing A and M together or else separately by half-sheet imposition (except possibly for more offset of wet ink on the tympan cloth in the latter case), and my observation in the later seventeenth-century quartos has been that, if anything, the separate half-sheet imposition method was perhaps more common. For this reason, bibliographers should, I think, make a running-title analysis whenever conditions permit before assuming that two half-sheets of text and preliminaries were in fact printed together on one sheet and then cut apart.

FREDSON BOWERS



Notes On Contributors

JOSEPH M. CARRIÈRE, Professor of French at the University of Virginia, has taken as his specialty the study of Franco-American cultural relations, with emphasis on Jefferson's connection with France.

JESSIE RYON LUCKE is a graduate student in the School of English at the University of Virginia.

C. WILLIAM MILLER, who received his doctorate from the University of Virginia, is now Assistant Professor of English at Temple University. He is making a study of the Restoration publisher Henry Herringman.

GILES E. DAWSON is Curator of Books and Manuscripts at The Folger Shakespeare Library. For some time he has been writing a descriptive bibliography of Shakespeare in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

PHILIP WILLIAMS is a graduate student in the School of English at the University of Virginia. He is preparing a doctoral dissertation on the text of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*.

RUDOLF HIRSCH, Assistant Librarian in the Preparation Division of the Library of the University of Pennsylvania, is the author of various studies in publishing history.

JAMES G. McMANAWAY, Consultant in Bibliography and Literature at The Folger Shakespeare Library, is a graduate of

the University of Virginia. His most recent publication is *A Check List of English Plays 1641-1700*, in collaboration with Gertrude L. Woodward.

GEORGE B. PACE is Assistant Professor of English at the University of Virginia. The present article is part of his project to reclassify the manuscripts of Chaucer's minor poems.

CURT F. BÜHLER, of The Pierpont Morgan Library, is well known through his numerous publications as an authority on incunabula.

GERALD J. EBERLE, Associate Professor of English Literature at Loyola University of the South, is working on an edition of Thomas Middleton's London comedies. His article is a revision of a paper delivered before the Bibliographical Evidence Section of the Modern Language Association of America in 1947.

ALLAN H. STEVENSON, Assistant Professor of English at the Illinois Institute of Technology, is interested in the history of the Werburgh Street Dublin theater and in Caroline printers and printing-house practice. He is editing a selection of the plays of James Shirley.

FILLMORE NORFLEET is head of the French Department at Woodberry Forest. He is the author of *St. Mémin in Virginia*.

GUY A. BATTLE is a graduate student at Duke University. He is completing a doctoral dissertation of an edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Love's Cure*.

JAMES S. STECK is a graduate student in the School of English at the University of Virginia.

GEORGE W. WILLIAMS is a graduate student in the School of English at the University of Virginia.

MARY VIRGINIA BOWMAN is a graduate student in the School of English at the University of Virginia.

FREDSON BOWERS, Associate Professor of English at the University of Virginia, is writing a descriptive bibliography of the post-Restoration English Drama 1660-1700.



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Fredson Bowers, of the University of Virginia, "Some Problems and Practices in Bibliographical Descriptions of Modern Authors," 26 February 1947.

Charlie D. Hurt, of Roanoke, Virginia, "The Monotype," 18 April 1947.

Charlton Hinman, of Johns Hopkins University, "Why 79 First Folios?" 6 June 1947.

Kenneth S. Giniger, of New York City, "The Effect of Modern Publishing Production Practices on Book Collecting," 8 October 1947.

Walter L. Pforzheimer, of Washington, D. C., "On Copyright," 17 October 1947.

H. W. Tribble, of Chicago, "Processes of Hand Bookbinding and Restoration," 24 October 1947.

Earl K. Fischer, of the Institute of Textile Technology, "On Printing Inks," 17 November 1947.

C. William Miller, of Temple University, "Henry Herringman," 13 February 1948.

Coolie Verner, of the University of Virginia, "First Maps of Virginia," 12 March 1948.

Giles E. Dawson, of the Folger Shakespeare Library, "The Career of R. Walker, Printer-Publisher, 1729-1750," 14 May 1948.

Charles H. Lindsley, of the Institute of Textile Technology, "Scientific Incunabula," 8 October 1948.

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STUDIES IN BIBLIOGRAPHY

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PAPERS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

EDITED BY
FREDSON BOWERS

Volume II
1949-1950



Charlottesville, Virginia
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
1949

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STUDIES IN BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Early Editions and Issues of *The Monk*, with a Bibliography

WILLIAM B. TODD

UNTIL 1935 THE INVOLVED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* received only cursory attention. Then, as if to redress this lapse, a sudden flurry of notes offered various representations, each contributing a little to an understanding of the problem, more to a realization of its complexity.¹ Eventually, however, Mr. Frederick Coykendall's "A Note on 'The Monk'"² brought this phase of the discussion to an end by an account that was not subsequently questioned by those concerned. Yet it seems advisable to reopen the case of *The Monk* on the basis of a variety of evidence, some of it new, but much of it previously overlooked or in need of reinterpretation.

From 1935 until now the status of *The Monk* has rested on these several compromises: (1) Contrary to the report in the *Life* of Lewis, in Lowndes, and elsewhere, no edition was printed in 1795; (2) notwithstanding conflicting statements in booksellers' catalogues, neither the second nor the fifth edition was the first to be expurgated, but rather the fourth; (3) for

1. See the communications by Philip Brooks (*New York Times Book Review* [Jan. 27, 1935], p. 21); Louis F. Peck (*Times Literary Supplement* [March 7, 1935], p. 148); followed by W. Roberts (p. 164), E. G. Bayford (p. 216), Frederick Coykendall (p. 276); H. V. Marrot

(*Biblio Notes & Queries*, 1, no. 1 [January, 1935], p. 4) and Frederick Coykendall (1, no. 2, p. 4; no. 3, p. 1).

2. *The Colophon*, n. s., 1, no. 1 (1935), 87-96.

some reason there were two distinct "issues"³ of the first edition, the one completely reset from the other; and (4) these "issues" are not of a certain order but the reverse of that order.

Examination may well begin with a review of the various opinions concerning the two "issues" of the first edition. Several months before Mr. Coykendall made known his own conclusions, Mr. Philip Brooks observed that, while the "1796" (*i.e.* 1818) Waterford edition was recognized as falsely dated, it was not generally known that there were two legitimate 1796 London issues, the one published in March, and the other "with certain verbal changes, mere corrections of misprints" in April of that year.⁴ Extending this discussion, Mr. Louis Peck remarked that there was editorial revision as well, particularly in the last several pages of the novel. The concluding passage in the first issue, it was noted, gave a protracted description of Ambrosio's death agonies; whereas in the second this passage was deleted and replaced with another reading "Haughty Lady. . . ." For Mr. Coykendall this latter analysis was misleading: the misprints, he added, are to be found in the *Haughty Lady* rather than in the *Ambrosio* issue. Thus, he concluded, the *Haughty Lady* version was the first of the two.

The two issues in this order, Mr. Coykendall continued, are indicated by certain entries in the *Monthly Magazine*, which for March, 1796, lists *The Monk* as published at 9 shillings, but for April quotes the price as 10s. 6d.⁵ The difference in price should be taken as signifying the difference between the *Haughty Lady* issue and the one that was later corrected. From this follows the hypothesis that when the one was recognized as having errors, it was at once discounted, and superseded in the next month by another sold at full price. To confirm this hypothesis we are given a list of misprints selected as peculiar to the first

3. Although this term was utilized by Mr. Coykendall and others, it inappropriately designates two different type-settings. Nevertheless I allow it to stand in anticipation of later comment which reveals these to be, in fact, *issues*, but not in the relationship generally presumed.

4. Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

5. *Monthly Magazine*, I (1796), 139, 228.

issue; but we are not given what is also required, a collation of early editions to demonstrate the uniqueness of the peculiarity. When such a collation is actually made we find, on the contrary, that the peculiarity does not exist. Cited as "misprints,"⁶ for instance, are the readings "no mean" and "frequently"—both in the so-called first, or *Haughty Lady* issue, but also in the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th editions. Similarly the word "feelings" is also found in the 2nd and 3rd editions. It would seem, therefore, that the corresponding words—"some", "occasionally", and "failings"—are actually the original rather than the revised readings; and as these occur only in the issue designated as the second⁷ there is strong evidence for reversing the order and considering this as the first. If so ordered, the first or *Ambrosio* issue presents one set of readings, all others another. Moreover, such a sequence as I suggest permits a very simple explanation for what is so involved in Mr. Coykendall's account of the final passage in the novel: the first issue would carry the description of Ambrosio's sufferings, all later ones the *Haughty Lady* paragraph.

Also considered to be of some significance, as we have noted, is the apparent relationship between the "misprinted" *Haughty Lady* issue and the 9 shilling quotation in the March number of the *Monthly Magazine*. This equation, of course, assumes the accuracy of the discounted quotation, an assumption that is, unfortunately, invalid. Against this single reference to 9 shillings in the *Magazine* can be opposed twelve to 10s. 6d. for the

6. This is, I believe, a misnomer, since it is inconceivable that the compositor looked at the word "some" and read "no mean", or at "occasionally" and read "frequently".

7. According to Mr. Coykendall's analysis these readings, among others, exemplify the order of variants:

	"1st issue"	"2nd issue"	2nd ♂ 3rd eds	4th ♂ 5th eds
<i>Vol. I</i>				
human failings		31.19		31.2
human feelings	31.19		31.19	
<i>Vol. II</i>				
some skill		73.19		
no mean skill	73.19		73.19	73.19
occasionally composed		73.22		
frequently composed	73.22		73.22	73.23

initial price: the *Edinburgh Magazine's* list of books published in March, 1796,⁸ and the entries in the *Oracle* for March 12, the *Morning Herald* for March 12, 14, 16, the *Sun* for March 11, 14, and April 19,⁹ the *Times* for April 4,¹⁰ and the *Morning Chronicle* for April 16, 18, and 23. All of these contradict the price quoted in the *Monthly Magazine*, and none, it should be observed, marks any chronological distinction between issues. Moreover, an entry as yet unmentioned indicates the probable cause of what is undoubtedly an error in the *Magazine*. Shortly before the date of publication, when all the papers quoted the price as 10s. 6d., the *Morning Herald* (March 9) announced that the price would be 9s. Here then is the likely source of an error twice made, and twice corrected at the insistence of the publisher, who had no intention of offering the book at a discount. On the evidence of the price quoted in the *Morning Herald* for March 9, immediately corrected—it should be observed—in the March 12 number, the *Magazine* entries almost certainly do not refer to two separate issues, nor do they indicate—if there were two—that one has precedence over the other. Hence, from the first, uncorrected entry, the sole reference on which so much of Mr. Coykendall's argument depends, no conclusions can be drawn.

Another piece of evidence which has been taken as substantiating the sequence is that the March, *Haughty Lady* issue of *The Monk* carries on the verso of page 315, third volume, an advertisement for two books, whereas in the April, *Ambrosio* issue this page is blank. One thing only may be said of adver-

8. *Edinburgh Magazine*, xxiii (1796), 298.

9. Though Friday, March 11, would seem to be the date of publication, the *Morning Herald* for the 9th advertises the book as to be published "on Saturday next" [the 12th]; and as all the papers except one make no announcement until Saturday, the *Sun* entry for the day before is doubtless premature.

10. In the imprints and advertisements for all editions only the name of J. Bell is given as

publisher. The *Times* entry for April 4 suggests, however, that there were, at least for the first edition, several promoters: "Printed for J. Bell, No. 148, Oxford-street; E. Booker, New Bond Street, and C. Law, Ave-Maria Lane." It may be remarked that the principal agent, usually identified as John Bell, a celebrated editor and bookseller of the day, was an obscure individual by the name of Joseph. Cf. advertisement leaf in the eighth edition of Lewis's *Castle Spectre*.

tisements: if they refer to books published before a first issue they may be cited in that issue; but if they refer to books published at a later date, then, in ordinary circumstances, no issue can represent them except one coincident with or subsequent to the date of their publication. When were these books in print? Investigation discloses that the two works cited in the advertisement, *Henry Somerville* and *The History of Inventions and Discoveries*, were published not in March, 1796, nor in April, 1796, nor even in the year 1796, but in April, 1797.¹¹ Thus the esteemed "first issue" is not the earliest issue of the first edition, nor—as we shall see—of the second, nor of the third, but something else of considerably less bibliographical interest. Authorities on *The Monk* may accordingly dismiss all talk of two early reset issues in any sequence and present as the true first-edition sheets those without advertisements, and without the *Naughty Lady* passage.

Before proceeding with the issues of this legitimate first edition I may be allowed a remark in retrospect. Had the various commentators carefully examined the title-leaves for the three volumes of the supposed "first issue," they would have noted evidence which would have affected their arguments. These leaves are cancels,¹² of lighter paper than the text, sometimes bearing the watermark date 1794,¹³ and—in every copy examined—carrying vertical chainlines, an obvious sign of

xi. *Henry Somerville*, "by the author of Hartlebury Castle": *Morning Chronicle*, April 15, 1797 (preliminary announcement for the 18th); *Monthly Magazine*, iii (April, 1797), 307; *Monthly Epitome*, i (April, 1797), 316; *Analytical Review*, xxvi (1797), 664.

William Johnson's translation of Beckmann's *The History of Inventions and Discoveries*: *Morning Chronicle*, April 1, 1797; *The Times*, April 26, 1797; *Monthly Magazine*, iii (March, 1797), 228; *Edinburgh Magazine*, xxv (May, 1797), 374; *Analytical Review*, xxvi (1797), 640. Also advertised in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th editions of *The Monk*.

xii. For this as well as for several other issues of *The Monk* I judge the three title-leaves to be

cancels if the first is not conjugate to A4, and if the disjunct second and third titles have readings identical with the first.

xiii. Mr. Coykendall erroneously asserts this issue to be a mixture of 1794 and 1796 w/m dates. 1796 belongs to the text; 1794 as his own and other copies show, is found, I believe, only in the title-leaves (in his it appears on the leaves to volumes i and iii), and may be distinguished from the same date in the first issue by the "7" and "9" being approximately 1 cm. longer than the "1" and "4". The w/m for the *editio principis* is a fleur-de-lis, dated throughout 1794, all figures of equal length, and with c/m initials "M&L".

cancellans in an edition of duodecimo format. Since these are not the original titles, therefore, it follows that 1796, although certainly the date to be *assigned to the issue*, is not necessarily the date *inherent* to the original sheets of the edition.

The comment just made applies, I now suggest, to the legitimate first published issue as well. Here again, and again as bibliographers have failed to note, the title-leaves for all copies I have seen are cancels, this time of the horizontal-line variety. In view of this discovery, is it unreasonable to infer that the 1796 imprint is likewise *assigned* and represents, for this issue, the alteration of a 1795 date that originally appeared? The evidence against an original date of 1795 admittedly appears to be so overwhelming that the earlier tradition for it is now generally ignored. At one time Lowndes was thought to have been the first to make the ascription, but in 1935 Mr. Brooks pointed to the *Life* of Lewis as the source,¹⁴ followed by Mr. Coykendall, who observed that an unusual phrase in the *Life*—“published in the summer of 1795”—is later quoted verbatim by Lowndes and Allibone.¹⁵ This attempt to derive the Lowndes statement concerning a 1795 edition from the passage in the *Life* cannot be sustained since Lowndes first appeared in 1834 and the *Life* was not published until 1839.¹⁶ The fact is that both the actual Lowndes ascription to 1795 and the specific statement in the *Life* had been anticipated by Watt.¹⁷

Indeed, as one moves toward the author and away from the guesswork present in recent discussion, all attempts to explain this 1795 date as an error lead only to its validation. Besides

14. Brooks, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

15. Coykendall, *op. cit.*, p. 88. *The Life and Correspondence of M. G. Lewis* (London, 1839), I, 151.

16. Actually, the *Life* (*loc. cit.*) reads: “publication . . . which event took place in the summer of 1795.” The phraseology of the bibliographies is not drawn *verbatim* from this passage and indeed is so dissimilar as to fail to indicate derivation from this source: as an

example, neither Lowndes nor Allibone mentions summer as the time of publication. Cf. Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual* (London, 1834), III, 1128; (1860), V, 1353; (1883), III, 1353; (1889), V, 1353. Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature* (London, 1870), II, 1091-92; (Philadelphia), I, 1091-92 in the editions of 1871, 1877, 1882, 1891, 1899.

17. *Bibliotheca Britannica* (Edinburgh, 1824), II, column 603.

the testimony of Watt and Lowndes, both reputable bibliographers, there is earlier confirmation in the numerous obituaries of Lewis,¹⁸ all of which not only concur in 1795 as the original date for *The Monk*, but on occasion emphasize the date by reference to events of "the following year" which we know to have taken place in 1796.¹⁹ These accounts too, of course, as they are confused on other details, may also err in this; but if so, definite proof should be offered.

Conclusive evidence, perhaps the only evidence, will reside in the original title-leaves to the first edition, and these have yet to be recovered.²⁰ Nevertheless, the available evidence offers a very powerful case. Confirming the 1795 date mentioned in the obituary reports are other accounts more approximate to the work itself. In September, 1794, Lewis, then at the Hague, wrote his mother that *The Monk* had been completed. The following month he sent her verses from the novel²¹ and added to the Preface what may be regarded as an *explicit*, the dateline "Oct. 28th, 1794." By December, at the latest, he was back in London looking for a publisher, and found one in Joseph Bell, who printed the work on paper dated 1794. The reiteration of the date, twice by the author in letters, once in the Preface, and throughout in the watermark is certainly evidence of a sort for 1794 as the year of publication. But obviously, the time-interval is cut rather fine, and there is no more reason for inferring from these indications that everything happened within several weeks than there is for assuming, without any evidence, that nothing whatever happened for sixteen months. As a compromise, therefore, I propose that in the absence of proof either for 1794 or for 1796 we return to the 1795 tradition, and agree

18. *Monthly Magazine*, xlvi (January, 1819), 565-66; *Gentleman's Magazine*, cxxiv (August, 1818), 183-84; *Literary Gazette* (July 25, 1818), 475-76; *Literary Panorama*, n. s., viii (1818-19), 1731-32; *Edinburgh Annual Register*, xi, part 2 (1818), 257-58.

19. *Gentleman's Magazine*, loc. cit.; *Literary Panorama*, loc. cit.

20. According to H. V. Marrot (*Biblio Notes & Queries*, i, no. 1 [January, 1935], p. 4) the catalogue of Archdeacon Wrangham's library lists a copy dated 1795. Perhaps this may be traced and the question settled.

21. *Life*, i, 133-34, 142-48.

that while a few pre-publication copies were probably distributed in that year—enough at least to establish the report—the actual first published issue was withheld for some reason until March, 1796, when it officially appeared with new title-leaves.²²

Thus far the results of our investigation have led, quite unintentionally, to a denial of what everyone has accepted and a reinstatement of what everyone has denied. We now approach problems which have not previously been treated. Having reduced the number of known first-edition issues from two to one, we come upon what seems to be a reissue of the first edition under false pretenses. A unique copy of this issue in the Sadleir-Black Collection at the University of Virginia has the same sheets throughout and the same cancellans title-leaves in volumes 2 and 3 as the first issue of the first edition, but the title-leaf for volume 1 has again been cancelled and replaced with another reading "The Second Edition." The new cancellans, however, was not taken from the legitimate second edition, for among other differences the author's name is still unrecorded. Normally we should expect this previously unrecorded issue to represent a publisher's stratagem for stimulating the sale of a slow-moving book and thus assign its publication as sometime before October, 1796, the month in which the authentic second

22. What appears to be evidence against 1795 as the date is an entry in the *Morning Herald* for March 3, 1796, announcing *The Monk* as "in the press." I am persuaded that nothing can be made of this. In the first place, as will be amply demonstrated in this paper, Bell's advertisements are meaningless and at times deliberately misleading. Moreover, the phrase itself had no more significance for works to be issued than the conventional "Published Today" had for works issued months before. It may mean, for *The Monk*, that the new title-leaves were being struck off, or be nothing more than advice to the reader that publication is pending. As an instance of the latter connotation see Richard Savage's use of the expres-

sion in the *Plain-Dealer* (November 30, 1724) with reference to his *Miscellaneous Poems*, not published until 1726. In 1724 at least one of the poems had yet to be written, for the event which it celebrates, the Duke of Rutland's inoculation for the small pox, did not occur until April 5, 1725 (*British Journal*, April 10, 1725). Another example of its use is in Nichols' *Anecdotes*, III, 49, where Bowyer is said to have printed, in 1767, Lyttelton's *History of the Life of King Henry the Second*, a work "which had been at least ten years in the press." From these several illustrations it may be agreed that the term has no other implication than that the publisher had contracted for the work.

appeared.²³ Nonetheless we should pause before making this hypothesis to remind ourselves that any inference regarding this novel may be distrusted, and consider another possibility.

From the moment *The Monk* was deposited at the bookstalls its reception by the critics undoubtedly prompted a demand which never diminished. Four London editions as well as a Dublin edition appeared within two years, and the imitations were legion. Within the first half year, then, there could hardly have been any need for pushing sales. In fact, only several months at the most could have elapsed before Lewis, realizing the necessity for another printing, set to work correcting and revising the readings to be introduced in the second edition. Now if, as I suggest, the exhaustion of the original supply was foreseen, and if the authentic second edition was published just before the supply ran out, then Bell may have been left with a few copies of the original issue, deemed imperfect by the author, and hence of no interest to a public clamoring for the latest version. Moreover, there is some reason to believe that a few copies were literally as well as textually imperfect. In the Virginia copy, at any rate, six gatherings are missing (vol. II, sigs. H-N), the consequence, perhaps, of a miscalculation when the sheets were counted out at the time of printing. Such a defection, so accounted for, would in itself constitute sufficient reason for keeping these on the shelf until such time as no copies except these were available for sale.

The occasion facilitating the disposal of these remainders occurred, I suggest, six months after the second edition had been published. On the 15th of March, 1797, a ballet adapted from the subplot of *The Monk* and entitled *Raymond and Agnes* was performed at Covent Garden. On that very day Bell made a curious announcement:

23. The entry in the *Analytical Review*, xxiv (October, 1796), 403-4, the only one I have been able to find for the second edition, gives

a title-page citation corresponding with this, but not with the spurious "second" edition.

J. Bell . . . informs his Friends and the Public that a few remaining Copies of the second Edition may be had by applying as above. The reason of this Address is owing to a report of the Book being out of Print, and as a Grand Ballet is to be brought forward this Evening taken from the above Work, many people may wish to see the Book before the performance; and as it will be some months before a new Edition can be ready to supply the demand he has given this notice.²⁴

The report of the second edition being out of print gains some credence from Bell's effort to deny it; just as his advice that another edition was "some months" hence is belied by the appearance of the third edition within five weeks. What was being offered, I believe, was the imperfect and spurious "second," brought forth not to create a demand, but to meet one beyond expectation. In passing, let us not forget the first volume title-leaves excised, or laid aside, to make way for this "second edition"; they will reappear in rather strange circumstances.

Concerning the true second edition little need be said since it is the only one of the early printings that seems to have retained its integrity. Issued in October, 1796, it includes on the title-pages for the first time the name of the author, proudly designated as "M. G. Lewis, Esq. M. P.",²⁵ and in the text a number of revisions retained thereafter, notably the insertion in one of the poems of a stanza inadvertently omitted before,²⁶ the suppression of the passage describing Ambrosio's seven days of suffering, and the substitution of another beginning "Haughty Lady. . . ." Had Lewis decided to remain anonymous at this time the bibliographical history of his novel would never have resembled the incredible story that now unfolds. But so enamored was he of the recently bestowed title "Member of Parliament" that he could not resist divulging his position as

24. *Morning Chronicle*, March 15, 1797.

25. In July of that year Lewis was elected as the new member of Parliament for the Borough of Hindon. See *The London Chronicle*, July 7-9, 1796.

26. The poem is the one entitled "Inscription in an Hermitage." As the stanza omitted in the first edition appeared in the transcript Lewis sent his mother in 1794, I presume it was present but overlooked in the fair copy submitted to the printer.

well as his name. The news sent every mouth agape. Here, to the horror of all, was the spectacle of a man elected to office that he might preserve morality in the realm, and acknowledging as his a work apparently designed to corrupt all morals.

The criticism following this disclosure was for awhile complacently disregarded and, as we might expect, served only to speed the publication of a third edition to meet the mounting demand for copies.²⁷ Three months and a day after this edition appeared, however, there sounded a blast which could not be ignored either by Lewis or by the authorities in a position to act against him. This was *The Pursuits of Literature*, by Thomas James Mathias,²⁸ a work to which Coleridge alludes as one of "the most vapid satires," valuable only for its notes on contemporary writers.²⁹ Its value to Coleridge is its value to us, for in the notes to the fourth part, notes added and expanded, revised and rearranged with each succeeding edition, we find a running commentary on Lewis and his work.

Since *The Pursuits* represents, therefore, an ideal vantage point for witnessing the later history of *The Monk*, I refer to certain pertinent remarks. In an introduction to the fourth part Mathias pauses before this novel as something

too peculiar and too important to be passed over in a general reprobation. There is nothing with which it may be compared. A legislator in our own parliament, a member of the House of Commons of Great Britain, an elected guardian and defender of the laws, the religion, and the good manners of the country, has neither scrupled nor blushed to depict and to publish to the world the arts of lewd and systematic seduction, and to thrust upon the nation the most open and unqualified blasphemy against the very code and volume of our religion.³⁰

27. From the only announcement discovered, the one in the *Morning Chronicle* for Saturday, April 15, 1797, that the third edition would be published "On Tuesday next," I presume the date for this to be April 18.

28. The part of interest to us, the fourth, was first published July 19, 1797 (*Morning Chronicle*), a second edition on September 11 (*Morning Chronicle*), a third apparently in the following month, a fifth on January 27, 1798 (London

Chronicle), and many more thereafter. The fourth edition of this Part, though not so designated, is actually that which was included in the consecutively paged fifth edition of all parts issued in January, the earlier dialogues having by this time already passed through four editions.

29. *The Friend: A Series of Essays* (London, 1818), II, 12-13.

30. *The Pursuits*, 1st ed., 4th part, pp. ii-iii.

After denouncing the legislators for failing to act against a member of their own house, he affirms that Lewis is at any rate liable before the "tribunal of public opinion" where he may "be made ashamed, or alarmed, or convicted." "Before that tribunal," he continues, "and to the law of reputation, and every binding and powerful sanction by which that law is enforced, is Mr. Lewis this day called to answer."³¹ The idea that the author might be liable as well before other and more effective tribunals seems to have occurred to Mathias at this juncture, for he then cites several paragraphs from the seventh chapter of the novel as blasphemy "*actionable at Common Law*",³² and gives a list of precedent convictions for similar offenses, those involving Curril, Cleland, Woolston, and Paine.

Now unquestionably Lewis was aware, to his discomfort, that the Proclamation Society was at that very time proceeding against Paine's publisher, one Thomas Williams;³³ hence the coupling of his name with the author of *The Age of Reason* and the insistence that the one writer was no less guilty than the other may have prompted Lewis to consider a way out of his difficulties. If he was uncertain as to what he might do, Mathias was ready with a suggestion. "The publication of this novel by a Member of Parliament is in itself *so serious an offence to the public*, that I know not how the author can repair this breach of public decency, but by suppressing it himself." To this note he subtended another: "Or Mr. Lewis might omit the indecent and blasphemous passages in another edition; there is neither genius nor wit in them, and the work as a composition would receive great advantage. I wish he may at least take this advice."³⁴

It remains to be determined whether Lewis followed these

31. *Ibid.*, p. v. Had he known of it, Mathias would have been thunderstruck at Sir Walter Scott's report that Charles James Fox crossed the floor of the House to congratulate Lewis on his novel.

32. *Ibid.*, p. ii, note b. Later editions read "indictable".

33. For several of the many accounts of the extended court proceedings against Williams see the *Morning Chronicle*, November 28, 1797, and the *London Chronicle*, February 3-6, 1798.

34. Mathias, *op. cit.*, p. 44 note e, and note on note.

recommendations of his own volition, or upon compulsion, or not at all. Certainly Mathias's attack could not have gone unnoticed by the vigilantes appointed to enforce the King's proclamation against vice, and as there is some contemporary talk of a court action, it is plausible that they anticipated any move Lewis might have considered by securing a legal decision against him. The scattered gossip gleaned from a vague reference in the *Life*³⁵ and more specific comment in the obituaries³⁶ suggests that both Lewis and Bell, his publisher, were indicted by the Court of King's Bench, probably at the instigation of the Proclamation Society, then headed by Beilby Porteus, Bishop of London,³⁷ and that a *decree nisi* was obtained against them, requiring the publisher to recall all copies of the third edition and the author to prepare another edition properly expurgated. By November, 1797, word of this decree must have come to Mathias, for in a note dated that month and added to the fifth edition of *The Pursuits* he implies that his earlier remarks are no longer applicable, but are retained for the record.³⁸ Unless there was court action somewhat as I have described it, Mathias

35. *Life*, I, 153. The extent to which the *Life* was adulterated and refined can only be conjectured from sly inferences at the time. In a letter to an unidentified lady, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, for one, confesses that the announcement of this work aroused "fearful apprehension" for his own and other reputations, but that having seen it he recognized the discreet hand of Sir Henry Lushington, Lewis's brother-in-law, in the choice of letters and Lady Charlotte Bury Campbell in the "cant as to religion." Sharpe then goes on to relate, presumably, the facts that had been suppressed, at which point his own editor cuts him off with an ellipsis! Perhaps what was divulged among other things, if we may believe the obituaries, was that Lewis, like his contemporary Wordsworth, fathered an illegitimate daughter. Not inconceivably this may have been the girl who, under the name of "Miss Mary G. Lewis," published a poem and two novels of her own: "Zelinda" (1823), *Ambition* (1825), and *The Jewish Maiden* (1830). Circumstances, initials, surname, and dates

all support the conjecture. *Letters from and to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq.*, ed. Alexander Allardyce (Edinburgh and London, 1888), II, 519.

36. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, cxxiv (1818), 183.

37. The reference in the *Life* to "one of the societies for the suppression of vice" is misconstrued by Montague Summers (*Gothic Quest*, p. 219) and others to mean "The Society for the Suppression of Vice," an organization not founded until 1802. For information regarding this and the Proclamation Society I am indebted to Professor Maurice J. Quinlan. Further data on the organization and proceedings of these societies may be found in his *Victorian Prelude* (New York, 1941), p. 54 *passim*.

38. *The Pursuits*, 5th ed., p. 295. "Whatever I have said on the subject of this novel, called *The Monk*, I shall leave as a matter of record, whether the Novel is altered or not. The tenor

would have had no knowledge at this time of Lewis's enforced resolve to make amends, and Bell would have had no reason for so effectively recalling copies of the third edition that only one can be found today.

If we postulate that all but a few copies of the third edition were suppressed, then we will have little difficulty in accounting for their ultimate disposition. Was there any way a publisher could sell perhaps a thousand copies, thus realizing with a profit his original investment, and yet keep within the letter of the law? There was a way, and the resourceful Bell was not one to overlook it. One can imagine that his inspiration was induced by the chance discovery of some leaves stowed away on a warehouse shelf—the cancellans title-pages to volume one of the first issue, first edition, removed, we will remember, eight months before when he passed that edition off as the second. If he could make the first a second, he reasoned, why not make the third a first? What a simple device for circumventing an injunction applicable only to the third edition! On reconsideration he may have had a qualm about such an unethical and in a sense unlawful procedure; but if so, it was only momentary, and passed with the thought that unless he could sell these copies now he could sell the public nothing for some months to come. So resolved, he excised the three title-pages of the third edition, affixed to volume one of each set the old pages he had on hand, and as a matter of economy, or negligence, allowed the book to be sold without titles for the second and third volumes. One of these sets Lewis secured as a text for revision, and this unique copy, with his MS notations, is now at the British Museum, catalogued, I might add, as the first edition with corrections for the second, though actually, as we see, the second issue of the third edition with corrections for the fourth.³⁹

of the whole is reprehensible. . . . It is hoped and expected that no similar work will ever again be given to this country."

39. I am indebted to Mr. Harry Sellers of the British Museum staff for identifying the paper, advertisements, readings, and printers' marks which substantiate this as the third edition.

Encouraged by the success of this covert venture, Bell now considered the problem of moving the rest of his contraband. Since the number of copies he had sophisticated in the manner described was small, corresponding, of course, exactly to the number of copies from which the first edition title-page had been removed, he prepared to run off new titles for the remainder of his stock. But instead of using one of those from the first edition as a model for the new setting, doubtless because he had just disposed of these, he reverted to the form of the third-edition title-page, there crossed out references to the name of the author and the edition, and had new ones struck off for all three volumes.

Now this was a blunder for, as altered, there still remained recognizable differences between the real and false first issues. In the one, for instance, the quotation from Horace precedes "In Three Volumes", while in the other, as in all editions after the first, the quotation follows the volume reference. Not this, however, but another difference must have aroused indignant comment. As it was no doubt pointed out to Bell by some irate patron, this could not pretend to be the "original edition," for instead of reading "M.DCC.XCVI." it bore the date "M.DCC.XCVII.", a date carried over from the third-edition copytext. Somewhat embarrassed by this disclosure, Bell may immediately have stopped the sale, moved all copies to the warehouse, and retired in confusion. The only thing to do, he thereupon seems to have decided, was to trust his good fortune that the several copies already sold would not be commonly recognized as fraudulent, and to avoid any further unpleasantness by altering the date of those that remained. Fortunately, as this was in roman rather than arabic digits, a few scrapes with a knife were sufficient to obliterate the offending "I." Removing the 'I', however, necessarily involved removing the accompanying period; and the absence of this final mark, it will be observed, distinguishes this state from any other variant of *The Monk*. Here, then, is the disguised

and defaced specimen usually masquerading as the "first issue, first edition," but revealed to be nothing more than a doctored second state of the third issue, third edition.

So that the assigned position of this issue may be incontrovertible I return now to Mr. Coykendall's argument, and to his own copies, which he has kindly allowed me to examine. It is granted between us that the third edition and the three variants described are all composed of the same sheets. In Mr. Coykendall's discussion, however, it was not recognized that the title-page for the second issue differed from that for the third, nor was the original state of the third considered except as an anomaly. As for the relation between the third edition and what is now known to be the doctored state of the third issue of that edition (his "first issue, first edition"), Mr. Coykendall has this to say:

The most obvious explanation of this seems to be that the publisher had kept back the sheets of the first issue because of their errors, and finding himself faced with a demand for a new edition simply bound up the first issue sheets with a new third edition title page, and thus produced a third edition at little cost. . . . It is reasonable to assume that the author told the publisher of his intention to revise the book for a new edition, and that the publisher therefore thought it best to distribute all copies of the book in its original form before the new edition should appear. We therefore come to the conclusion that the third edition consists of sheets of the first issue with a new title page.⁴⁰

To this explanation there is a ready answer. Since, in Mr. Coykendall's own copies, the title-leaf volume 1, third edition, has horizontal chainlines exactly conjoined, as they should be, to those in leaf A4, whereas the title-leaf for the "first issue" has vertical chainlines not at all corresponding, the third edition is beyond question the first, not the last of the sequence, and all variants, in the order suggested, are necessarily subsequent to it.

Having been led into an initial misconception by taking the

40. Coykendall, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

physically conjugate title-leaf of the third edition for a cancellans, Mr. Coykendall discerns another characteristic of the issues which is not borne out by the evidence.

Here then is an opportunity for the skillful forger to insert a manufactured title page in a copy of the third edition and produce a false first issue. The collector should note, however, that in the first issue the leaf [A4] containing the Advertisement on recto and Table of the Poetry on verso precedes the Preface, while in the third edition this leaf, as in the second issue and the second edition, follows the Preface, and has the Table of the Poetry on recto and the Advertisement on verso.⁴¹

This difference is merely accidental. So long as A4 is attached to the title-leaf it will remain in position A4. But if the title is excised, and the book trimmed and later rebound, then A4, disjoined from A1 on one side and from A3 on the other, is free to move to any position according to the whim of the binder.⁴² Where this disjunction has occurred, as in the several issues of the first edition, and all but the first of the third, I have found A4 in any of the positions A2, A2^v, A4, and A4^v. The particular disarrangement Mr. Coykendall describes might have been recognized as an aberrancy had it been noted that with A4 before the registered signature A2, the latter is unaccountably in position A3.

With this explanation we have succeeded, I believe, in unravelling the last of a number of puzzles. A word needs to be said, finally, of Joseph Bell's enterprise in selling his issues fabricated from the third edition without arousing the suspicion of the authorities. Not wishing to precipitate the investigation which would surely follow a public announcement in the papers, Bell, for awhile at least, seems to have depended upon a wink and a nod to promote his under-the-counter trade. Later

41. *Loc. cit.*

42. Gathering A4 was probably imposed as the lower third of sheet L, cut off, and then folded like an accordion strip. A displacement of A4 would be unlikely, therefore, unless the

book were subject to the treatment described. Of the ten copies I have examined in which A1 is cancellans, only one, that in the collection of Mr. Harold Greenhill, is in original condition—with blue boards and labels—and in this A4 is properly positioned.

on, though, he apparently decided to risk an advertisement in one of Lewis's plays, where it would come to the attention of those interested in this author and his notorious romance but not, he hoped, to those less sympathetically inclined. Accordingly he inserted in *The East Indian* (1800) the usual announcement for the fourth edition of *The Monk* and then, for the first time, a further notation: "In this edition the Author has paid particular attention to some passages that have been objected to.—A few remaining copies of the original edition may be had by applying to the Publisher." The announcement, I suspect, met with an immediate response, for by the time the fifth edition was out Bell was selling his fakes at twice the original price. "*The First Edition,*" readers of *Adelmorn the Outlaw* (1801) are informed, "may be had at the Publisher's, price One Guinea."

As there are no later advertisements, I conclude that after five years of maneuvering and subterfuge the last copy of this spurious first issue had been sold, the last in a series of impostures and deceptions had gone undetected, from then until now. It is, in a way, a tribute to Bell's ingenuity that his final, his most audacious fraud, including his doctoring of the date, should not only have been accepted as the "first issue" but in more recent years have been vigorously defended as such.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Description

First edition, pre-publication state.

"In the summer of 1795" (*Life*, I, 151).

No copy extant. Probably the same sheets as for the first issue, except that title-leaf, volume I, would be integral, and would probably read "M.DCC.XCV."

First edition, first issue.

March 12, 1796 (*Morning Herald*). price 10s. 6d.

THE MONK: | A | ROMANCE. | [short French rule] | Somnia,
terrores magicos, miracula, sagas, | Nocturnos lemures, portentaque.
| HORAT. | Dreams, magic terrors, spells of mighty power, |
Witches, and ghosts who rove at midnight hour. | [short French
rule] | IN THREE VOLUMES. | VOL. I. [II, III] | [short French
rule] | LONDON: | PRINTED FOR J. BELL, OXFORD-STREET.
| M.DCC.XCVI.

12°. vol. 1: A⁴(±Ar) B-K¹² L⁸. vol. 2: [A] 1 B-N¹². vol. 3: [A] 1 B-O¹² P².
t. p.'s are cancels, chainlines horizontal. Vol. 3, p. [316] is blank.

Copies examined: IU, MH, NN, ViU, Mr. Harold Greenhill (Chicago).

Edition reviewed: *British Critic*, vii (June, 1796), 677; *Monthly Mirror*, ii (June, 1796), 98; *Critical Review*, ser. 2, xix (January, 1797), 194-200; *Monthly Review*, xxiii (August, 1797), 451.

From this edition derive the Dublin (1796) and Dublin (1808) editions, each in two volumes.

First edition, second issue.

?March 15, 1797 (*Morning Chronicle*). price 10s. 6d.

THE MONK: | A | ROMANCE. | [short French rule] | THE SECOND
EDITION. | [short French rule] | [quotation] | [&c. as in 1st issue] |
M.DCC.XCVI.

Collation as for the first issue. t. p.'s are cancels, chainlines horizontal.

This is the same book as the first issue except that vol. 1 cancellans t. p. has been replaced by another with indicated reading. The removed leaf from vol. 1 is again used as a cancellans in 3rd edition, 2nd issue, q. v.

Copy examined: ViU.

Second edition.

October, 1796 (*Analytical Review*). price 10s. 6d.¹

THE MONK: | A | ROMANCE. | By M. G. LEWIS, Esq. M. P. | [short French rule] | IN THREE VOLUMES. — VOL. I. [II, III] | [short French rule] | [quotation] | [short French rule] | THE SECOND EDITION. | [short double rule] | LONDON: | PRINTED FOR J. BELL, OXFORD-STREET. | M.DCC.XCVI.

Collation as for the first edition except that sig. A1 is conjugate.

Copies examined: ICN, NN.

Edition reviewed: *Analytical Review*, xxiv (October, 1796), 403-4; "London Review" in *European Magazine*, xxxi (February, 1797), 111-15.

From this edition derive the Waterford "1796" [1818] and the Paris (1807) editions, each in three volumes.

Third edition, first issue.

April 18, 1797 (*Morning Chronicle*, April 15). price 10s. 6d.

THE MONK: | [&c. as in 2nd ed.] | [quotation] | [short French rule] | THE THIRD EDITION. | [short double rule] | LONDON: | PRINTED FOR J. BELL, OXFORD-STREET. | M.DCC.XCVII.

Collation as for the first edition except that sig. A1 is conjugate. On vol. 3, p. [316] there are advertisements for two books, both published in April, 1797.

Copy examined: Mr. Frederick Coykendall (New York City).

The review of this edition by Thomas J. Mathias (*The Pursuits of Literature*, Part iv; published July 19, 1797) resulted in its suppression in ?November, 1797.

Third edition, second issue.

?November, 1797. price 10s. 6d.

This and the following issue of the 3rd edition represent attempts to disguise that edition as the first by the use of various title-leaves. In this issue the title-leaves of vols. II and III are cancelled without substitution. The cancelled title-leaf of vol. I is replaced by the leaf originally used in the first edition, first issue, but displaced in the second issue of the first edition. Chainlines for the cancellans are horizontal.

Copy: British Museum. With author's MS. revisions for the fourth edition.

The *Review* misprints the price as 9s. See 1797, where the 2nd edition is quoted at entry in the *Morning Chronicle*, January 27, 10s. 6d.

Third edition, third issue (first and second states)

?November, 1797—May, 1801. price 10s. 6d. to 21s.²

THE MONK: | A | ROMANCE. | [short French rule] | IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. I. [II, III] | [short French rule] | [quotation] | [short double rule] | LONDON: | PRINTED FOR J. BELL, OXFORD-STREET. | M.DCC.XCVII.

Present in all three volumes, these cancels were set, with appropriate deletions, from the text of the 3rd edition t. p.'s, and are on paper with vertical chainlines.

Copy examined: The Century Club (New York City).

As a second state the above cancel titles were doctored by carefully scraping away the final digit of the date with its accompanying period so that the date is "corrected" to 'M.DCC.XVI'. In vol. 1 of the ViU copy the faint outlines of the deleted letterpress may still be discerned, and the other titles show that the paper has been scraped.

Copies examined: ViU, Mr. Frederick Coykendall, Scribners—the Thackeray copy (New York City).

Fourth edition.

February 28, 1798 (*The Times*). price 10s. 6d.

AMBROSIO, | OR | THE MONK: | A | ROMANCE. | By M. G. LEWIS, Esq. M. P. | [short French rule] | IN THREE VOLUMES—VOL. I. [II, III] | [short French rule] | [quotation] | [short French rule] | THE FOURTH EDITION, | *With considerable Additions and Alterations.* | [short Oxford rule] | LONDON: | PRINTED FOR J. BELL, OXFORD-STREET. | [dash] | 1798.

12^o. vol. 1: A⁴ B-K¹² L⁶. vol. 2: [A]₁ B-M¹² N⁸. vol. 3: [A]₁ B-O¹².

Copy examined: ViU.

Edition reviewed: *Monthly Mirror*, v (March, 1798), 157-58.

Fifth edition.

1800. price 12s.

AMBROSIO, | [&c. as in 4th ed., except: . . . [quotation] | [short French rule] | THE FIFTH EDITION, . . .] | LONDON: | PRINTED BY J. DAVIS, CHANCERY-LANE, | FOR J. BELL, OXFORD-STREET. | [dash] | 1800.

Collation as for 4th edition. t. p. for 2nd volume reads 'CHANCERY-LAN'.

Copies examined: NjP, Scribners.

2. See advertisements in *The East Indian* (1800) and *Adelmore the Outlaw* (1801).

B. *Differentiae*

As a convenient check-list for determining among the issues which title-leaves in the first volume are conjugate to A4, and among the editions what preliminary gatherings belong to the text, the following data is submitted for the first three editions.

EDITION	Volume 1 title-leaf	Printers' marks, sigs. A-B
<i>First</i>	<i>Integral</i>	<i>Order of readings</i> "A"—p/m "B"—p/m
*1st state	Yes	quote-vol-1795 } I [none] 22-3
1st issue	No	quote-vol-1796 } II — 12-9
2nd issue	No	2nd-quote-vol-1796 } III — 13-4, 15-4
<i>Second</i>	Yes . . Lewis-vol-quote-2nd-1796	I A2v-2 22-3 II — 12-1 III — 15-7
<i>Third</i>		
1st issue	Yes . . Lewis-vol-quote-3rd-1797	I A2v-4 17-3, 19-2
2nd issue	No	quote-vol-1796 } II — 12-4
3rd issue	No	vol-quote -1797 } III — 12-2 (In second state date altered by hand to 1796.)

*Reading assumed.

†Title-leaves have vertical chainlines.

†Title-leaf previously used in 1st edition, 1st issue.

The 'Second Issue' of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, 1609

PHILIP WILLIAMS, JR.

IT HAS LONG BEEN KNOWN THAT COPIES OF THE 1609 quarto of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* differ: some copies have a title-page on which it is stated that the play '... was acted by the Kings Maiesties | seruants at the Globe' whereas in other copies this title-page has been cancelled¹ and replaced by a half-sheet signed ¶. The new title-page (¶1) changed the original 'THE | Historie of Troylus | and Cresfeida' to 'THE | Famous Historie of | Troylus and Cresfeid', deleted the statement about performance at the Globe, and added in its place '*Excellently expressing the beginning | of their loues, with the conceited wooing | of Pandarus Prince of Licia.*' The remaining portion of the title-page (from 'Written by William Shakespeare' on) was printed from the standing type of the original title-page.² The second page of the cancellans (¶2) contains an address to the reader (concluding on ¶2^v) in which the play is said to be '*a new | play, neuer stal'd with the Stage, | neuer clapper-clawd with the palmes | of the vulgar.*' Except for these differences all copies are identical; hence those

1. Until H. P. Stokes, in his introduction to the Griggs facsimile (*Shakespeare Quarto Facsimiles*, No. 13 [1886]) demonstrated that the title-page with the reference to performance at the Globe was earlier, it had generally been held that the ¶ title-page was first. The editors of the *Cambridge* edition (1863-66) had accepted the erroneous order.

2. William Aldis Wright, *The Cambridge Shakespeare*, 2nd. ed. (1892), iv, viii, noted that the lower portion of both title-pages had been printed from the same type.

having the original title-page are usually considered 'first issue' and those in which the cancel has been effected, 'second issue.'³ Three copies of the quarto having the original title-page but lacking ¶² are extant.⁴ One copy contains both the original title-page and ¶².⁵ Eleven copies in which the original title-page has been cancelled and replaced by the half-sheet ¶² are extant.⁶

The question of exactly when and how the half-sheet signed ¶ was printed has never been investigated,⁷ nor has a satisfactory explanation why some copies of the book appear with and some without the second title-page been advanced.⁸ Critics, indeed, have seemed content with the implicit assumption that some copies do not contain the cancel since they were sold at a time prior to the printing of the cancellans half-sheet.

3. W. W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration* (1939), No. 279, so considers them, as does Henrietta Bartlett, *A Census of Shakespeare's Plays in Quarto, 1594-1709* (1939), p. 121. R. B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (1917), p. 177, suggested that in books like *Troilus and Cressida* (which he cites) the new matter might constitute merely a cancel and not a separate issue.

4. British Museum, Huntington, and Rosenbach.

5. In the Yale Elizabethan Club copy, half-sheet ¶ is inserted before the original title-page. It is impossible now to determine whether this represents the original state of this copy or a later sophistication. The copy is the Daniel-Huth-Cochran one, bound in morocco with Daniel's monogram. See Bartlett, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

6. Bartlett, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-22, lists twelve copies, assigning two to The Folger Shakespeare Library (nos. 1217 and 1218). No. 1217 is not at present in The Folger Shakespeare Library, and Dr. Giles E. Dawson, Curator of Rare Books, writes me that a search of the library's records and of Mr. Folger's papers reveals no evidence that Mr. Folger or the

library ever owned this copy. I have been unable to locate it elsewhere. Miss Bartlett describes it (p. 121) as "The Quaritch (purchased privately, 1919, sold, 1920, £1500) copy. Bound in morocco."

7. Neither A. W. Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, (1909) nor Peter Alexander, "*Troilus and Cressida*, 1609," *The Library*, 4th ser., ix (1928), 267-86, attacked the problem. E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare* (1930), I, 442, suggested that Bonion and Walley (the publishers) decided to cancel the original title-page when they realized that the play had never been produced on the public stage. Chambers presents the generally accepted theory as to why the cancel was printed but (like Alexander and Pollard) does not consider the how or when (save for the general conclusion that at some unspecified time after the original title-page had been printed, the publishers decided to effect the cancel).

8. William Aldis Wright, *op. cit.*, vi, vii-viii, suggested that "copies with this [the original] title-page were first issued for the theater, and afterwards those with the new title-page and preface for the general reader." This highly doubtful speculation has not met with general approval.

It is the purpose of this article to show first that the half-sheet signed ¶ was very probably printed along with the final half-sheet M of the text as a pre-publication cancellans, and secondly to offer a plausible explanation why in some copies the cancel was not effected.

Fredson Bowers⁹ has shown that bibliographical evidence can often be used to prove that different parts of a book were or were not printed on a full sheet and subsequently cut in half. In a book having a collation like 4°, A² B-M⁴ N², with A² containing the title-page and preliminary matter and the text ending on N₁ or N₂, the possibility that A² and N² were printed together on a full sheet has been recognized for some time. Indeed, it has come to be accepted as the normal method of printing in such circumstances. But a quarto half-sheet gathering can also be printed by half-sheet imposition, the four type-pages being imposed together and a full sheet printed and perfected by this same forme, the two halves later being cut apart to provide identical half-sheets. Dr. Bowers shows that it is dangerous to assume that two half-sheet gatherings appearing in the same book were printed together unless running-title evidence confirms this assumption, and he demonstrates that when the running-titles from only one forme used to print a preceding full sheet of text are used in both formes of the final half-sheet, this half-sheet must have been printed by itself by half-sheet imposition. If the running-titles from both formes used to print a preceding full sheet of text appear in the two-leaf gathering, the half-sheet was not printed by itself by half-sheet imposition but instead with something else.

Twelve running-titles contained in three skeleton-formes were used in printing *Troilus and Cressida*, from which two skeleton-formes were drawn to print gathering L. In inner L, the following running-titles appear: L₁^v (IV), L₂ (IX), L₃^v (III), and L₄ (VIII). In outer L, the following running-titles appear:

9. "Running-Title Evidence for Determining Graphical Society, University of Virginia, 1 (1948-
Half-Sheet Imposition," *Papers of the Biblio-* 49), 199-202.

L₁ (X), L₂ (I), L₃ (VII), and L₄ (II). Two running-titles appear in M^a: (X) on M₁ and (IV) on M₁. It will be noted that the running-title from L₁ (inner forme) appears on M₁ (inner forme), and the running-title from L₁ (outer forme) appears on M₁ (outer forme). The final two-leaf M gathering of *Troilus and Cressida* cannot therefore have been printed separately by half-sheet imposition. Since M was not printed in this manner, it is necessary to assume that another half-sheet was printed along with it.¹⁰ I suggest there is strong evidence for believing that this half-sheet was ¶^a, printed in the same formes with half-sheet M^a.

First, it will be remembered that the lower portion of the title-page contains standing type from the original title-page. This suggests, although it does not prove, that the cancelling title-page was printed soon after the original title-page (A₁). At any rate, the interval of time between the printing of the original title-page and the cancelling title-page was so short that the type from the original title-page had not been distributed.

Second, buttressing the typographical evidence for the relatively continuous printing of the cancel with the body of the book is the evidence of the paper. Sheets A-M consistently contain a watermark of a gauntlet with the third finger surmounted by a cross. Since in certain copies where a watermark appears in the ¶ half-sheet, the watermark is invariably this same gauntlet, the inference follows that the cancel was printed on the same lot of paper Eld bought for the rest of the book, and as a consequence that it cannot be separated by any very long period of time from the printing of the text sheets. Indeed, this evidence, as well as that of the standing type from the title, may be more narrowly applied, for both would ideally obtain

¹⁰. It seems most improbable that the printer would impose an inner forme with one page of letterpress and three blank pages, and make up a similar imposition in another skeleton for the outer forme. Since in some copies of *Troilus*

and Cressida blank leaf M₂ is preserved conjugate with M₁, such printing would have given a blank half-sheet fold which has always been removed. This possibility need not be considered seriously.

if ¶ and M had been printed in the same formes. Under such conditions it is ordinarily found that one of the two separated half-sheets in any single copy will contain a watermark and the other will not. In the observed copies, this is what we find; for example, in the Folger copy the watermark appears in ¶ but not in M, whereas in the Yale Elizabethan Club copy the watermark is in M but not in ¶.¹¹ Thus the watermarks demonstrate at least that the printing of ¶ could not have been long delayed after the completion of the book, and their evidence is not inconsonant with the hypothesis that both ¶ and M were printed in the same full sheet.¹²

Thirdly, the evidence supplied by the type-page measurements supports the belief that ¶² and M² were printed together. If ¶² were printed along with M², using the two skeletons from L, the measurements of the type-pages in ¶ should conform with the measurements of the type-pages of L. If the measurements do not coincide, the inference would be that ¶² and M² were not printed together. The measurements do coincide, and therefore the ¶ type-pages seem to have been composed in the same printers' stick used for the text so that they would fit without adjustment of the furniture into the skeleton-formes used to print L and M.¹³

11. This condition would be found if the two half-sheets in individual copies had been cut apart from the same full sheet, or if they had been cut apart in series at some prior time but bound in fairly consistent order with this earlier operation. Dr. Bowers has kept records of Restoration play quartos and informs me that when running-titles indicate two half-sheets were printed together, the vast majority of copies will not have clashing watermarks (or their absence) in the two separated parts. The evidence is not invariable but is strongly weighted in this direction.

12. If, on further examination, copies are found to contain watermarks in both ¶ and M (or lack watermarks in both), I do not think this would seriously discount the other evidence afforded by the watermarks.

13. The measurement of the full type-pages in L and M is 157(164) x 87 mm. The horizontal measurement may vary slightly from 86 to 88 mm. in other sections of the book, but in L and M it is 87 mm. for all pages, the measure found in half-sheet ¶. Eld did not invariably use an 87 mm. measure in printing play quartos. In three other quartos printed by him at about this time, the following measures are used: *The Devil's Charter* (1607): 94 mm.; *The Puritains* (1607): 92 mm.; and *Ram Alley* (1611): 90 mm. It would seem therefore more than coincidence that the horizontal type-page measurement of the type-pages in ¶² should coincide with the measurement of the type-pages in L and M.

In view of the bibliographical evidence that has been presented, it seems more than probable that ¶² was printed simultaneously with M², the type-pages having been imposed as is indicated below:

INNER

[Blank]	¶ ₂
M ₂	
	[Blank]
M ₁ ^v	¶ ₁ ^v

OUTER

¶ ₂ ^v	[Blank]
	M ₂ ^v
¶ ₁	M ₁

If this theory of how ¶² was printed is accepted, the time at which it was decided to cancel the original title-page can be determined with some precision. The decision must have been made after outer A had been printed but before either forme of M had been printed. 11½ sheets intervene between outer A and M. If only one press were used and if the edition ran to the maximum 1250-1500 copies, we may estimate that L was completed approximately 15 working days after printing on A began.¹⁴

We must now attempt to explain why three of the extant copies contain the uncancelled title-page (A₁) whereas in eleven copies the cancel of A₁ has been effected and ¶² substituted. (The Yale Elizabethan Club copy is, of course, aberrant and would align itself with the eleven copies in which the cancel was made.) Although it is dangerous when dealing with only fifteen copies to make much of percentages, the three surviving copies in which the cancel has not been substituted suggest that in the original edition possibly a sizable number of copies existed in this state.

14. If two presses were used, the time would be cut approximately in half. If fewer than the maximum copies were printed, the time would also be somewhat less, but it is unlikely that

the edition was smaller than 1250 copies. Any decision about the number of presses involved in printing this quarto must await further investigation now in process.

Several hypotheses must be considered before coming to the explanation I think to be the correct one. *Troilus and Cressida* was printed by George Eld for two publishers, Richard Bonion and Henry Walley.¹⁵ It is possible, though perhaps unlikely, that one of the two publishers definitely preferred the original title-page with its reference (rightly or wrongly) to performance at the Globe by the King's Men. If so, he could have directed his binder to ignore the cancel in the copies allotted to him. Or—much less likely—both publishers, acting jointly, may have deliberately allowed some copies of the book without the cancel to be issued, holding back the cancelled copies with the expectation that the new title-page and preface would stimulate sales at a later date. This particular speculation should not be taken too seriously, for it is unlikely that the publishers, having gone to the trouble and expense of the cancel as a part of continuous printing of the quarto, would deliberately issue copies without that cancel. Moreover, there is no evidence that the altered form of the title would have stimulated sale.

Unless we are willing to suppose that one or both of the publishers deliberately issued some copies without the cancel, we must look elsewhere for an explanation. Our knowledge of early 17th-century binding practices is, unfortunately, limited; but it seems probable that the answer to our problem lies here.¹⁶ Most of the copies of *Troilus and Cressida* were correctly

15. Neither Bonion nor Walley was a printer; both were booksellers and publishers. Walley's shop was 'The Harts Horn in Foster Lane' from 1608 until 1655. Bonion's shop was 'The Spread Eagle near the great North Door of St. Paul's Church' from 1607 until 1610. See R. B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1557-1640* (The Bibliographical Society, 1910), pp. 42-43, and H. R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers, 1641-67* (The Bibliographical Society, 1907), p. 188.

16. In his account of the duties of the warehouse-keeper, Moxon describes activities that

are more closely related to the binding than the printing of books. His account probably applies to the large post-Restoration printing establishments and may not accurately describe conditions that prevailed 75 years earlier in the smaller Elizabethan shops. According to Moxon, the job printer delivered his work to the bookseller with the sheets 'gathered,' 'collated,' 'folded,' 'pressed,' and thus ready to be sewn. However, it seems more likely, according to fragmentary evidence for the earlier period, that Eld would have delivered unfolded sheets tied up in bundles according to signature. Nothing is said in Moxon's

bound: ¶² was added and Ar cancelled. But it is probable that in some copies, through accident or error,¹⁷ the cancel was not made.

The most recent attempt to define *issue* and *variant state* reaches the general conclusion that there are only two major classes of reissue: (1) post-publication alterations in the publishing or selling arrangements as indicated by a cancellans title-leaf; (2) post-publication alterations or additions in the book accompanied by or confined to a cancellans title-leaf to assist in stimulating sales of old sheets. Additions or alterations made to constitute what may be called *ideal copy* should be considered as 'states,' whether made before or after publication. Among such 'states' are specifically placed cancellans titles "printed as part of an original sheet (whether of the preliminaries or of the text) to perform the same function as a press-variant title."¹⁸

If ¶² and M² were indeed printed simultaneously, and if the copies containing Ar but lacking cancellans ¶² are the result of binding error or accident to some of the half-sheets and not demonstrable as a distinct publishing effort, the implications

account about marking pages to be cancelled or about cutting a sheet in half that contained two separate half-sheets. Eld may or may not have cut the ¶M sheets; the surviving cancellanda are not marked in any way.

17. One may speculate about possible accidents and errors even though in this case it seems impossible to demonstrate that one or another occurred. If Eld divided the ¶M sheets before delivery, one bundle of ¶ half-sheets may have been overlooked and thus never delivered to the publishers; or he may have delivered too few ¶ half-sheets to one of the two publishers; or, while stored in a warehouse, one bundle of ¶ half-sheets may have been damaged; or the publishers may have failed to include ¶ half-sheets with one lot of sheets sent to the binder. If the ¶M sheets were uncut when they reached the binders, an error in arranging the sheets in 'heaps' for 'gathering' or some other careless mistake may

have been made. One speculation, for which there is no evidence whatsoever, could be made that copies lacking ¶² represent printer's 'copy books.' See F. R. Johnson, 'Printers' Copy Books' and the Black Market in the Elizabethan Book Trade," *The Library*, 5th ser., I (1946), 97-105.

18. Fredson Bowers, "Criteria for Classifying Hand-Printed Books as Issues and Variant States," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, xli (1947), 291, n. 16. The reasons for this classification are elaborated in his *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton, 1949). Pre-publication changes to a book, machined as a part of its continuous printing, cannot constitute reissue except under the most unusual circumstances and can be classified as 'separate issue' only if it can be demonstrated that copies in each form were intentionally sold as a unit. Otherwise, variant forms resulting from pre-publication printing constitute only 'variant state.'

are clear: the so-called 'first' and 'second issues' of *Troilus and Cressida* are not separate issues at all; and they should therefore be treated as W. W. Greg treats the similar case of *The Dumb Knight* (1608),¹⁹ that is, as variant states of only one issue.

But the classification, while important, is after all basically only one of estimating accurately the true conditions of printing and publication. The bibliographical evidence which can be brought to bear to assess the cancel in the first quarto of *Troilus and Cressida* indicates very strongly that the alteration in the title and the consequential printing of the address to the reader were decided on and manufactured before any copies of the book could be issued. No collateral evidence exists which would lead to a conclusion that intentional separate and simultaneous issues were made of copies in the two forms: reissue is, of course, a practical impossibility owing to the circumstances of printing.²⁰ If the bibliographical evidence is accepted as a sufficient demonstration, we must alter our views materially concerning the time at which this cancel was printed and, to some extent, the circumstances which dictated it.

19. *The Dumb Knight*, printed by Nicholas Okes in 1608, parallels *Troilus and Cressida* in many respects. (See W. W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, No. 277). In this book, for which Greg gives the collation 4°, A-I⁴ K², the original title-page appears as A₂ in some copies (A₁ and A₂^v blank). A₃ contains an address to the reader, and the text begins on A₄. In other copies, A₂ has been cancelled and replaced by a new title-page, the only significant difference between it and the original title-page being the change of 'historicall' to 'pleasant' and the addition of the author's name. The lower portion of this cancelling title-page is printed from the same setting of type as the original title-page. Greg lists two copies having the original title-page only, three in which the cancel has been effected, and two in which both titles are present. He states that the cancelling title-page

was almost certainly printed as K₂, for in the Folger copy the cancellans and K₁, though now separate, can be seen to have been conjunct. If the cancelling title-page were printed as K₂, there were probably as many copies of it as of K₁, i.e. the number of copies of the edition. One is naturally led to ask why the cancel was not carried out in all copies, since the ratio between surviving copies suggests that in a relatively large number the cancel was not made. Yet copies having the uncancelled title-page probably represent a binder's error, as in *Troilus and Cressida*.

20. Indeed, if an accident happened to a pile of half-sheets so that copies lacking the cancel are not simply binders' errors, copies with the original title were probably the last lots to be sold and would have been placed on the market in this form not by intention but by necessity.

Warburton, Hanmer, and the 1745 Edition of Shakespeare

GILES E. DAWSON

THE NEGLECT BY MODERN EDITORS OF A 1745 edition of Shakespeare has led them into errors and false assumptions regarding eighteenth-century emendations of the text. This edition is in six octavo volumes with the following general title in the first volume:

THE | WORKS | OF | SHAKESPEAR. | IN | SIX VOLUMES. | [rule] | Carefully REVISED and CORRECTED | by the former EDITIONS. | [rule] | — *Nil ortum tale.* — HOR. | [rule] | [ornament: a basket of flowers and foliage with 2 birds, 56 x 22 mm.] | [double rule] | LONDON: | Printed for J. and P. Knapton, S. Birt, T. Longman, | H. Lintot, C. Hitch, J. Brindley, J. and R. Tonson and | S. Draper, R. and B. Wellington, E. New, and B. Dod. | [short rule] | M DCC XLV.

The editor is not named, either on this title or elsewhere, but the text is substantially that of the 1744 edition of Sir Thomas Hanmer printed at the Oxford University press, and the 'Advertisement from the Booksellers' (in vol. i) opens with the statement that 'This Edition is exactly copied from that lately printed in Quarto at Oxford'.

In order to understand the nature of this 1745 edition, and the reasons for its importance, we must go back some fifteen

or twenty years and examine the early connections of Sir Thomas Hanmer and the Rev. William Warburton with Shakespeare. Indeed the story actually begins with Lewis Theobald, who published in 1726 his *Shakespeare Restored*, an attack on Pope's editorial methods in his *Shakespeare* of 1725. At some time near the beginning of 1728 Theobald began what turned out to be a long and voluminous correspondence with Warburton in which the two men exchanged detailed critical and explanatory notes on the *Shakespeare* text. Theobald intended to publish critical remarks upon all the plays, similar to those on *Hamlet* of which *Shakespeare Restored* was chiefly composed. But by 1730 he wrote to Warburton that he had enlarged his plan and had now determined upon an edition of *Shakespeare*. Thereafter Warburton appears to have understood completely that the many notes which he continued to communicate to the editor were in fact contributions to this edition. Theobald accepted them, printed a large number of them as footnotes, nearly always assigning due credit for each, and devoted a paragraph of his preface to a grateful acknowledgement of Warburton's assistance. He did not use all of the contributions, however, and it was Warburton's hurt pride at the discovery of this, soon after the appearance of the edition in 1733, that led ultimately, about 1736, to a complete breach in the friendship of the two men. On 17 May 1734 Warburton wrote:

I have transcrib'd ab^t. 50 Emend. & remarks w^{ch}: I have at several times sent you, omitted in y^e. Edition of *Shakespeare* w^{ch}. I am sure are better than any of mine publish'd there. These I shall convey to you soon & desire you to publish them (as omitted by being mislaid) in y^e. Edition of the Poem[s], w^{ch}. I hope you will soon make ready for the Press.

A few days later he sent these emendations and notes (fifty-six of them)¹ to Theobald.² But Theobald never published the edi-

1. Warburton had evidently kept copies of all the emendations and notes which he had through their long correspondence sent to

Theobald. These, together with the letters in which they had probably been embodied, are not known to have survived. But Theobald's

tion of the Poems which he appears to have been considering, and Warburton's strange request came to nothing. Theobald adopted the very reasonable position that it was implicit in any such voluntary contribution of material that the editor should have a free hand to select or discard as he might see fit. Actually, if Theobald erred at all in the selection of Warburton's notes, it was by including too many, for Warburton was inferior to Theobald as a scholar and in his knowledge of Shakespeare and Elizabethan literature. Throughout the later relations of the two men, Warburton is revealed as a thoroughly petty and vainglorious man.²

The next new edition of Shakespeare is that of Hanmer, which made its appearance in 1744, and in this, too, Warburton was involved. At what date Hanmer decided upon the preparation of an edition he nowhere tells us. In May 1737 Warburton spent a week at Mildenhall, Sir Thomas's seat, and at that time the baronet, though interested in constructing a 'correct text in Shakespeare,' had 'no thoughts at all of making it public.'³ It is not known what motive led Warburton to seek Hanmer out—if indeed he did so. It is not unlikely that he had in the back of his mind even then an edition of his own. His quarrel with Theobald was still fairly fresh, and he may have been thinking of some means of doing himself the justice which he felt he had been denied by Theobald. In October 1737, five months after the meeting with Hanmer, he wrote to Thomas Birch:

letters to Warburton, from 1729 to 1733, were preserved by the latter and are now in the Folger Library, bound in two large volumes (Cs 873). With them in the second volume are transcripts, by an amanuensis but with interlined corrections in Warburton's hand, of half a dozen letters from Warburton to Theobald written in 1734. With these latter is a transcript of the 56 emendations and notes, together with several more additional notes sent later. The whole contents of these two MS volumes are printed (almost certainly from the

Folger MS) by John Nichols in *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, II (1817), 189-648.

2. For a full account of the relations between Theobald and Warburton see R. F. Jones, *Lewis Theobald, his Contribution to English Scholarship with some Unpublished Letters* (New York, 1919), chapters 5 and 6.

3. Letter of Hanmer to Dr. Joseph Smith, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, 28 Oct. 1742.

correct. In others, he may have considered the error not important enough to warrant a correction, or he may have been unable to find an adequate substitute for what he had originally written. Moreover, he would naturally be inclined to shorten as much as possible a long list of errata which could only raise doubts as to the value of his translation. Finally, he may have failed to make all suggested corrections through sheer carelessness or indifference. In this connection, it should be pointed out that, when preparing the first errata list—the short one—he did not read proof much beyond page 99, since the last erratum which he recorded occurs on that page.²⁷ It can be taken for granted that, if it had not been for Jefferson, no other list would have ever appeared. One should not fail to add, however, that if Jefferson was most unfortunate in having Morellet as a translator, Morellet was equally unfortunate in choosing to translate the *Notes on Virginia*. It was not customary for authors to be in a position to exercise such close supervision over their translators.

There is still another interesting problem connected with the long errata list. Of the fifty-six manuscript notations in the Byrd copy, all without a single exception are corrections requested by Jefferson in his memorandum, and, as already stated, only in three cases does the wording of these notations vary from that of the corresponding entry in the long errata list. It is again clear that the writer of these notations had access to Jefferson's list. Morellet's name comes at once to one's mind as the probable writer of the manuscript notations. Unfortunately, we have no means of tracing the history of the Byrd copy. Moreover, with the exception of three notations, the longest of which is three lines, the corrections written on the various pages all consist of three or four words at the most. Their briefness makes it impossible for one who is not an expert

27. In his memorandum, Jefferson lists three errors on page 103, one on page 104, two on page 106, one on page 113, etc. The fact that

none of these appears in the short errata form should constitute ample evidence that checking was not carried much beyond page 99.

tors of *Biographia Britannica*, through whose efforts the letter had originally been obtained, attempted to prevent the cancellation, but was overruled. He thereupon issued, anonymously, a pamphlet entitled *The Castrated Letter of Sir Thomas Hanmer, In the Sixth Volume of Biographia Britannica* (1763), in which he printed (pp. 26-27) the letter to Smith.⁵ This he followed by a reply from Warburton (originally contributed, Nichols says, to the *St. James Chronicle* of 1 November 1762, when the Bishop was still expecting the Hanmer letter to appear in *Biographia Britannica*). This reply begins:

Sir Thomas Hanmer's letter from Milden-hall to Oxford, Oct. 28, 1742, is one continued falsehood from beginning to end.

It is false that my acquaintance with him began upon an application from me to him. It began upon an application of the present Bishop of London [formerly of Salisbury] to me, in behalf of Sir Thomas Hanmer, and, as I understood, at Sir Thomas Hanmer's desire. The thing speaks itself. It was publicly known that I had written notes on Shakespeare, because part of them were printed; few people knew that Sir Thomas Hanmer had: I certainly did not know; nor indeed, whether he was living or dead.

The falsehood is still viler because it sculks only under an insinuation that I made a journey to him to Milden-Hall, without an invitation, whereas it was at his earnest and repeated request, as appears by his letters, which I have still by me.

5. He asserts (p. 17) that he 'found the offensive sheet had been withdrawn, and a new one put into its place, printed so much wider as was necessary to fill the same space, without Sir Thomas's letter.' In the three copies which I have seen (Folger and Huntington) the letter is present (leaf 41Q₂, pp. 3743-44) and there is no sign of cancellation. But there is good evidence that the cancellation (of the whole sheet) was carried out and that the Folger and Huntington copies are not three which escaped with the cancellandum in place. Instead I am convinced that in these copies—and probably in all others—the sheet as it now stands is a second cancellans, substituted for the first one (from which the letter was omitted). On p. 3780 (*rub* Spelman) is a note quoting from Warburton's *Shakespeare Preface* a statement relating to his quarrel with Hanmer.

This statement, the editors say, came to their attention 'since the letter at the end of Dr Joseph Smith's Article was printed off.' And they add that if they had seen it in time, it 'should have been inserted as a marginal note to the aforesaid letter of Sir Thomas Hanmer.' But as the letter now stands in the Smith article the statement *has* been inserted as a marginal note, to which is added a reference to the note on p. 3780. It seems probable then that Philip Nichols ultimately prevailed with the editors to restore the Hanmer letter. It is from *Biog. Brit.*, p. 3743, that I quote the letter above. It is also printed by John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, v (1812), 588-89, and by Sir Henry Bunbury, *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer, Barr.* (1838), pp. 85-88.

After relating that Hanmer had first tried to interest a 'bookseller in London, of the best reputation' (Nichols says this was Tonson), Warburton continues:

But the bookseller understanding that he made use of many of my notes, and that I knew nothing of the project, thought fit to send me this account; on which I wrote to Sir Th. Hanmer, upbraiding him with his behaviour . . .

One can scarcely help feeling some little annoyance at the tone of nobility and insistent amateurism which Hanmer assumes throughout the whole affair. Scholarly reputation is nothing to him, and the thought of financial gain abhorrent. He has, he writes in the preface to his edition, 'made it the amusement of his leisure hours for many years past to look over his [Shakespeare's] writings.' Yet his conduct, not only in connection with Shakespeare but in other passages of his life, was that of a guileless and generous man. His fault was simplicity, and there was in him neither rancor nor deceit.

Warburton's behaviour, in contrast, attracts little sympathy or confidence. Self-interest is too apparent in all of his relationships—with Theobald, with Pope, with Hanmer. Yet even his enemies—and he was not without them—did not accuse him of out-and-out lying.

I think then that we can reconcile the opposed statements of Hanmer and Warburton without giving the lie to either of them. Bishop Sherlock, perhaps knowing of their common interest in Shakespeare, may well have brought them together in such a way that each felt himself to be the one complimented. During the 'long correspondence' that followed and the week at Mildenhall, Hanmer and Warburton may have exchanged comments on the text without either one mentioning clearly what was probably yet in the mind of each no more than an ill-defined notion of producing an edition. It is even possible that at that time neither had formed such a notion at all. It is certain that Warburton sent Hanmer many notes, which he thought 'mostly wild and out of the way'. A little later,

thinking—or perhaps only dreaming—that Hanmer was going to help him, Warburton wrote the letter to Birch quoted above and then dropped some hints to Hanmer about advantage to himself. It is likely that in this he clumsily displayed his spirit of self-seeking pettiness which offended the guileless baronet. And so they quarrelled, and each man felt himself aggrieved. Then for some years Warburton, whose main path of promotion lay in the Church, was busy with *The Divine Legation of Moses* and other theological works. Hanmer meanwhile continued to amuse his leisure hours with his favorite author and so was able, a few years later, to make a gift of his edition to Oxford, himself paying for the handsome copper-plates by Hayman and stipulating only that the set should be even more sumptuous than Pope's elegant quartos of 1725 and that the price must not exceed three guineas.

Aside from the impressive appearance of the six volumes when they appeared in 1744, it is difficult to find much good to say about Hanmer's edition. It competes with Warburton's of 1747 for lowest place among eighteenth-century editions. But palpable as they are, Hanmer's faults as an editor are those common to all editors from Rowe to Johnson. His method was theirs—to reprint the latest edition or editions,⁶ accepting their emendations or guesses as the established text and further emending any passage the meaning of which did not strike his fancy.⁷ All the editors made some pretence of examining or even collating first editions, but none were systematic in this, and all, persuaded of the corrupt state of the early texts, exercised varying degrees of license in correcting them. Hanmer was

6. Hanmer printed from the 1725 Pope, but he appears to have intended originally to use the 1733 Theobald edition for this purpose. A set of the latter in the Folger Library has been heavily annotated throughout (except for *Titus*, *Macbeth*, and *Othello*) in his hand as if to prepare it for printer's copy. But he seems to have changed his mind about this and probably transferred these annotations and emendations to a copy of the 1725 Pope.

7. A good example is Hanmer's reading of *Othello*, I.i.21:

<i>Pope and Theob.</i>	damn'd in a fair wife
<i>Hanmer</i>	damn'd in a fair phyz

But it would be unfair to Hanmer not to offset this by mentioning the fact that a number of his emendations have met with general acceptance by later editors—*M. N. D.*, I.i.187, for instance.

perhaps a little more arbitrary in his emendations and a little less sound in his judgments than most of the others—but not much. In one respect, however, he was clearly more culpable than any other—or at least more consistently culpable. He never, or almost never, gives credit to any of the earlier editors for the many emendations of which he has availed himself, and he supplies no textual notes. Along with his own he prints Pope's or Theobald's or Warburton's readings, quite silently, and occasionally he lifts an explanatory note equally without credit or comment. He merely wished to construct 'a correct text in Shakespeare', not seeking reputation for himself; and in his own generosity he simply embraced his fellow-workers in the field.

Such methods are avoided by modern editors, like the Furnesses and their successors in the New Variorum. These want to know who is responsible for each reading and are punctilious in assigning credit for each. But when they come to deal with Hanmer and Warburton they are, without knowing it, too often working in the dark. As a result Hanmer has been given credit—or should I say discredit?—for a great many readings which belong to Warburton. To Theobald too, though much less often, have been assigned emendations which originated with Warburton.

The sole value of the 1745 edition, which is the subject of this paper, lies in the fact that it constitutes, as I believe, a reliable key by which these errors can be corrected.

The 'Advertisement from the Booksellers' informs the reader that the plan followed in this reprint of the 1744 Oxford edition of Hanmer is to mark those passages in the text altered by Hanmer and to 'place the discarded Readings at the bottom of the Page, as also to point out the Emendations made by Mr. Theobald, Mr. Warburton, and Dr. Thirlby,'⁸ in Mr. Theobald's Edition, which are used by this Editor—that is by Hanmer.

8. Styian Thirlby, of Jesus College, Cambridge, a friend of Theobald's, contributed a number of notes and emendations to Theobald's edition.

This is an accurate account of the method used, at no inconsiderable cost in labor, throughout the six volumes. Wherever, departing from the text as handed down by Pope, Hanmer prints an emendation of Theobald and his helpers (Thirlby and Warburton), or one of his own, the emended words are marked in the text of 1745 by a pair of small superior slanted lines, and a footnote is supplied. For example, in *Merry Wives*, V.iii.13, where Pope and earlier editions read 'and the Welch devil Herne?' and Theobald alters 'Herne' to 'Evans', Hanmer follows the latter, with 'Evans'. In the 1745 reprint 'Evans' is enclosed in the superior slanted lines, and a footnote reads 'Herne? . . . old edit. Theob. emend.' If the emendation was first proposed by Thirlby or Warburton, the appropriate name is given. If by Hanmer himself, the footnote simply gives the reading and assigns it to the 'old edit.', without the emendator's name. The number of emendations so marked in the text and footnoted in one way or the other is very large. In six plays chosen at random⁹ I find 527 in all; 409 are attributed to no one, which means that they are Hanmer's own; 60 are attributed to Theobald; 52 to Warburton; and 6 to Thirlby.

The question which must now be considered is who could have done this work on the 1744 Hanmer text. It can be demonstrated, I believe, that it was Warburton himself. The 'Advertisement from the Booksellers' continues, after the sentence quoted in the paragraph just above:

The changes in the disposition of the Lines for the Regulation of the Metre are too numerous to be taken particular notice of. As to the other Emendations and Notes of Mr. Warburton, which are for the most part marked likewise in this Edition, we are only commission'd to say thus much; "That he desires the Publick would suspend their Opinion of his Conjectures 'till they see how they can be supported: For he holds it as ridiculous to alter the Text of an Author without Reasons assigned, as it was dishonourable to publish those Alterations without leave obtained. When he asks this Indulgence for himself, if the Publick will give it too to the Honourable Editor, he will not complain; as having no

9. *M. W. W.*, *A. Y. L.*, *John, Rich. III*, *A. & C. Hamlet*.

"objection why his too should not occupy the Place they have usurped, until they be
"shewn to be arbitrary, groundless, mistaken, and violating not only the Sense of the
"Author, but all the Rules and Canons of true Criticism: Not that the Violation of
"these Rules ought to be any more objected to the Editor, than the Violation of the
"Rules of Poetry to his Author, as both professedly wrote without any."

This curious advertisement clearly constitutes an attack by Warburton upon Hanmer—with special emphasis upon the latter's practice of appropriating other men's emendations 'without leave obtained.' It does not imply that Warburton performed the textual collation which gives the reprint its value. But though it is not improbable that he or Tonson, the publisher, employed some nameless hack for the more tedious part of the task, yet it is difficult to see how it could have been accomplished without Warburton's active collaboration—or indeed to see who else would have had any motive for its accomplishment.

The greater part of the work, it is true, could have been done by anyone—simply by collating Hanmer's text with Theobald's and Pope's. In this way it would be an easy matter to determine where Hanmer departs from the 'old edit.'—from Pope, that is—and where he follows Theobald. Where Theobald has followed a reading suggested to him by Warburton or Thirlby, his footnote almost invariably makes this clear, and thus if Hanmer adopts one of these readings his source is apparent. But frequently one finds in the 1745 edition a note reading '*old edit. Warb. emend.*' when a glance at Theobald's text shows that that editor had not adopted the reading or even mentioned it in a note (as he occasionally did do) as a discarded possibility suggested by Warburton. These readings, then, appear in print for the first time in Hanmer's first edition; yet the textual annotator of 1745 assigns them to Warburton. Something like half of all the emendations claimed for '*Warb.*' in the footnotes of the reprint are of this kind.

In light of what we know about Warburton's relations with Theobald and Hanmer it is not difficult to explain these assign-

ments of emendations to him. We know that Theobald had declined to make use of some which Warburton felt were his very best. We have Hanmer's own statement that Warburton 'had many observations upon Shakespeare then lying by him' when the two men began corresponding, and that some of them Hanmer 'thought just'. The latter nowhere denies having used these, though how many of them he may have used he does not suggest and we have no way of knowing. There is in fact definite proof of his adopting some emendations which he could have got from no other source: for six of the fifty-six that Warburton sent (for the second time) to Theobald in May 1734¹⁰ were adopted by Hanmer and are duly credited to Warburton in the 1745 footnotes. These six emendations follow (with Globe references):

Com. of Errors, IV.iii.28.

Theob.	morris-pike	MS and Han.	Maurice-pike
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All's Well, IV.v.42.

Theob.	hotter	MS and Han.	honour'd
--------	--------	-------------	----------

John, IV.ii.255.

Theob.	murd'rous	MS and Han.	murd'r'er's
--------	-----------	-------------	-------------

Romeo and Jul., III.v.32.

Theob.	would they had	MS and Han.	wot they have
--------	----------------	-------------	---------------

Othello, IV.i.42.

Theob.	instruction	MS and Han.	induction
--------	-------------	-------------	-----------

Ant. and Cleo., IV.xv.10.

Theob.	Burn the great Sphere
--------	-----------------------

MS	Turn from th'great, &c.
----	-------------------------

Han.	Turn from the Sphere
------	----------------------

The treatment of these and other emendations claimed by Warburton in the 1745 footnotes at the hands of New Variorum editors and the old Cambridge editors (1863-66), shows that the 1745 edition ought to be better known than it has been.

10. See note 1 above.

The elder Furness, it is true, appears to have known the fifty-six emendations and notes preserved in MS—probably from Nichols's *Illustrations*—for he properly assigns many of them to Warburton. He so treats the above *Othello* and *Antony and Cleopatra* emendations. But for no discernible reason he assigns the *Romeo and Juliet* reading to Hanmer. It is certain that neither he nor the Cambridge editors used the 1745 edition, and the same can be said of more recent editors of New Variorum volumes. None of these lists that edition among those collated or refers to it in any way. Three additional examples (where the MS is not involved) will make the point clear:

Macbeth, I.ii.14.

Theob. quarry

Han. quarrel

(claimed by Warb.)

Cambridge attributes emendation to Hanmer, Furness to Johnson!

1 Henry IV, III.ii.13.

Theob. attempts

Han. attaints

(claimed by Warb.)

Cambridge and Hemingway attribute emendation to Hanmer.

2 Henry IV, IV.i.175.

Theob. purposes confin'd

Han. properties confirm'd

(claimed by Warb.)

Cambridge and Shaaber attribute emendation to Hanmer.

In view of Warburton's animosity toward the Oxford editor one might well question his trustworthiness to perform his task in an even reasonably judicious manner. There does not seem to be any way of proving, for example, that he did not appropriate to himself, in the 1745 footnotes, more emendations than he had a right to. But to me it seems unlikely that he did such a thing. Neither Hanmer nor anyone else is known to have made such a charge. Zachary Grey, whose *Word or Two of Advice to William*

Warburton (1746) takes Warburton to task for the ‘Advertisement’ of 1745, gives no hint of this kind of dishonesty. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary we must, in my opinion, assume that Warburton’s assignments of credit for emendations are accurate and reliable. Accordingly we must in the future attribute to Warburton those emendations claimed by him in the 1745 reprint.

A few words remain to be said about the publication of the edition. At the beginning of the century the Shakespeare copy-rights were divided between the Tonson firm and the Wellington firm, the former owning the greater part.¹¹ In spite of the Copyright Act of 1710 these firms continued with fair success to claim the exclusive right to publish Shakespeare. All but one of the important editions from Rowe (1709) to Johnson (1765) were in fact published by the Tonsons—usually in association with the Wellingtons and often, as in 1745, with a number of other booksellers. The one exception was the Oxford edition of 1744—Hanmer’s first edition—which in the eyes of the Tonsons and Wellingtons constituted a brazen piracy. On 11 April 1745 Jacob Tonson III, having seen proposals of Edward Cave to publish an edition of Shakespeare, wrote in a letter of warning to Cave:

I doubt not I can shew you such a title as will satisfy you . . . and I will then give you my reasons why we rather chuse to proceed with the University by way of reprisal for their scandalous invasion of our right, than by law.¹²

What his reasons were we do not know, but the reprisal almost certainly consisted of the publication of the cheap reprint of 1745—a sort of piracy of a piracy. Not only was it cheap, and thus designed to undersell the stately Oxford edition, but, as we have seen, the ‘Advertisement from the Booksellers’ contains a vicious attack upon the very book to which it is prefixed.

11. For an account of the Shakespeare copy-rights see G. E. Dawson, ‘The Copyright of Shakespeare’s Dramatic Works’ in *Studies in*

Honor of A. H. R. Fairchild (University of Missouri, 1946), pp. 22–35.

12. *Ibid.* and Pegge, *Anonymiana* (1809), p. 34.

When this 'Advertisement' asks the public to 'suspend their Opinion of his [Warburton's] Conjectures 'till they see how they can be supported', it seems clear that Warburton was at work on his own edition. This was published in 1747—by the Tonsons and their associates. We may infer, then, that in 1745 Warburton had already entered into an agreement with his publishers. Though it is not improbable that it was the Tonsons who initiated the reprint—as a protest against the 'piracy', in order that they might not give the appearance of acquiescing in it—it is difficult to see how they could have regarded the careful textual apparatus as a necessary adjunct to it. It is therefore probable that this was added at the suggestion of Warburton as his own personal revenge on 'the Honourable Editor'. He may have wished at the same time to establish his own right to the emendations which he had supplied to Hanmer—most of which he was to use in his own edition of 1747.

The Library of Elizabeth's Embezzling Teller

LESLIE HOTSON

SELDOM DOES ONE COME UPON A VIRTUALLY complete valuer's list of the books owned by an Elizabethan squire. An added spice in the present case is the reason for the appraisal: their owner is being "sold up" to make good what he embezzled out of Queen Elizabeth's till.

The culprit is no petty unknown, but one of the four worshipful Tellers of her Exchequer of Receipt, Richard Stonley, esquire, who by patent has enjoyed his life-appointment since February 19, 1554 (1 Mary). The commission out of the Exchequer to find out and seize his property is dated February 9, 1597. It states that he had wrongfully converted to his own use £12,608 of the Queen's money. Another statement makes the sum £12,779 13s. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. Either way the amount is enormous; but since we may assume that a quarter of all the Queen's monies, incoming and issuing, for some forty years had passed through his hands, Stonley was used to large sums. Why he embezzled, over how long a period, and how he was detected, we have still to learn.

But the Queen did not lose by Richard Stonley's peculations. Hers was the prudent habit of choosing as her financial officers men of substance. What sometimes happened to less substantial defaulters we read in Stow's *Annales* under date of January 1589/90: "Nicol's one of her Maiesties purueiours was hanged,

for that he conuerted to his owne vse certaine prouision taken
of her subiects for her Maiesties vse."

Richard Stonley was however an old servant of the Queen's, and owned lands in six different counties, as well as house property in London. Some properties of his in Kent, Essex, Bucks, and Oxford were sold for the Queen, together with the "Castle" in Holborn. The last was bought by Lord Burghley and his son for £1000.¹ Others in Essex were seized into the Queen's hand to make up the remainder out of income. But at his death on February 19, 1600, Stonley's widow and his two daughters (aged 40 and 36) were no doubt able to look forward to getting this part of the estate back again when the debt was cleared.² Obviously Elizabeth was not vindictive, and had no intention of ruining her teller's family.

The list of books following is drawn from the complete appraisal early in 1597 of Stonley's goods at his dwelling house in Aldersgate Street, St. Botolph's extra Aldersgate, London.³ His books exhibit him as a man of cultivation, well seen in the languages. The list is full, varied, and interesting.

Much could be done with it in the way of identification classification, analysis—which I do not propose to do. I am content to lay out the titles as I find them in the parchments, and invite anyone interested to make the most of the material. I have made no consistent attempt to expand abbreviations, and any additions of my own are in italic or enclosed in square brackets. Since several of the titles are unknown to me, I cannot hope to have avoided blunders, and shall be happy to be corrected.

1. P. R. O. Ex92/3.

2. P. R. O. Inq. Post Mortem, C142/266/8r.

3. P. R. O. Exch. K. R. Memoranda Roll,

Ex59/412/435.

An Inventory of the goodes of Richard Stonley Esquier remayninge in his howse in the parische of S^t Botolphe without Aldersgate in the Subvrbz of the Cittie of London. viz in

M^r Stonleys Bedchamber

Hollingeschedes Chronicles, the 2. and 3 volumes in twoe
books xx^s

Flavij Josephi antiquitat' Judaic' cum alijs addicion' iiij^s iiijd

Explicatio Evangel' & epistolar' xij^d

A Concordance of the bible xvij^d

Calvynes Institutions in English iijs iiijd

Bateman vpon Bartholmew de proprietat' rerum xx^d

A defense of the Ecclesiasticall Governt in the Church
of England xx^d

A Survey of the pretended holy disceplyne x^d

The ordinary of Christian men viij^d

Liber precum publicarum xiij^d

Hitchcocks Newyearesgifte ij^d

Navigacions into Turky viij^d

The lyes of the holy Saints Phrofitts and Patriarks vj^d

A history of the successors of Alexander the greate vj^d

A Christall glasse of christian reformatiōn iiijd

The Forest of histories vj^d

The Abridgment of Actes and Monuments xiij^d

A defence of things lately done in the Lowe Countries j^d

Haddons Answere to Osorius j^d

Lira sixe bookeſ xij^s iiijd

Tho: Aquine vpon Aristoles phisicks viij^d

Augustines Works iiij^{or} books xxx^s

Augustini tertius tomus ij^s

Foxi Loci Comunes xvij^d

Tho: Morus in Lutherum x^d

Plutarkes Lyves vijs viij^d

Peter Marter vpon the Romans ij^s

Barnardi opera vijs viij^d

Foxes Ecclesiasticall Hystory twoe books xx^s

Consiliorū Tomi 1 & 2. iijs

Concordantie Bibliorum iijs

Sermonū decades quinque Authore Henrico Bullinger j tome xx^d

Peter Marters Comon places viij^s

Flores Historiarum xvij^d

Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum	xx ^d
Annotomyes in Frenche	iiij ^s
Plautus	xij ^d
Plinij natural' historia	ij ^s
The Shipp of Fooles	xij ^d
Doctor Turners Herball	iiij ^s
The pooremans library	v ^s
Musculus Comon places	v ^s
Jewells Reply to D: Hardinge	ij ^s
Dyall of Princes	ij ^s
Thesaurus Scripture	xvij ^d
The Works of Tyndall, Frithe, and Barnes	ij ^s
Calvyne in Epistol' Pauli	ij ^s
Debitor & Creditor [Peele]	ij ^s
Scotus	xij ^d
The defence of the Answere to the Admonytion against the Replye of T. C.	xvij ^d
M: Fab: [Quintiliani] Institution' orator'	xij ^d
The newe Testament Latyne and Englishe by Coverdale	xij ^d
Northbrooks pooremans garden	xij ^d
Partes iiij ^{or} authoritat' summe Christian' Canisij in 2. libris	iiij ^s
Hardings Cronicle	vj ^d
Dialectica Arrestotilis	xij ^a
Biblie Latine partes 1. & 2.	iiij ^s
Songe books of diuorse kyndes	x ^s
Statute books	xij ^d
Shepards Calender	vj ^d
Regestrum libri Cronicorum	iiij ^s
A Collection of Lyttleton	vj ^d
Arithmetica Gemmi frisij	iiij ^d
Concordantie biblie	iiij ^d
Fearefull fansies [cf. Gellò.]	iiij ^d
Platonis Gemme	iiij ^d
Epistole D. Volusiani ad Nichm Papam primum	iiij ^d
An Anottomye of a Whole man	iiij ^d
Mallius Malificarum	iiij ^d
Accidence of Armory	vj ^d
Biblia Latina	xij ^d
Scriptu' Johannis Duns Scoti	vj ^d
Canon Consilij provincialis Coloniens'	vj ^d
Ciceronis oration' pars secunda	iiij ^d

Velcurion in Aristotilis Phisica	vjd
Ovid epistol' cum al'	iijd
Confessio catholice fidei	vjd
Calvini Comentari' in psalmos	xijd
Andreas Alceatus de verborum significacione	vjd
Index vtriusque Testament'	iijd
Liturgie siue misse sanctorum patrum.	iijd
Ciceronis officia	iijd
Elucidarius poeticus	iijd
Colloquia Erasmi	ijd
Valerius Maximus	ijd
Erasmus super psalmos	vjd
Plutarchi Moral' libri duo	ij ^s
The supremacy of Christian princes in Ecclesiasticall causes	vijd
A booke of Christian goverment	vjd
The discovery of Wichcrofte	ij ^s
Marbeck's Comon places	xvijd
The Arte of Warr	vjd
Disputacio de sacra scriptura per Whitakerum	xijd
Vulgaria Hormanni	vjd
The Juell of Health	vijd
The pallace of pleasure twoe books	ij ^s
The pilgrimage of princes	xijd
Nowells Confutacion of Dormans disprofe	xijd
Heliodorus in Englishe	vjd
An answere to the treatise of the Crosse	vjd
Promptorium Clericorum	ijd
Dictionariolum Latin', Anglic', Galic'	vjd
Doctor Bilson of the difference betwene Christian subiec- tion and vnchristian rebellion	ij ^s
Testament in Frenche	xijd
Reformacio Legum Eccliasticarum	vjd
Iniunctions by her Ma ^{tr} 1559	ijjd
Haven of Healthe	vjd
The Kalender of Scripture	vijd
Propositions and principles of dyvinytie disputed at Geneva	ijd
The first parte of Senecas tragedy in Englishe	vijd
Senecaes 10 Tragidies in Englishe	vjd
The Comon welthe of England	ijjd
Fecknams Answere to the B. of Winchester	iijd
Ciceronis Epistole	ijjd

Morall Philosophy	vij ^d
Gramatica Hebreia	iiiij ^d
A briefe conceipte of Englishe pollicy	ij ^d
Johannis Parkhursti Epigramata	iiiij ^d
The Kinges Prerogatyve	iiij ^d
Paradines devises in Frenche	iiij ^d
Emblemata Alciati	iiiij ^d
Alciatoes Emblemes in spanishe	xij ^d
Adriani Junij Emblemata	iiiij ^d
Figure Biblie	iiiij ^d
Figur' Ovid Metamorphosis	iiiij ^d
The Edicte of the kynge of France	ij ^d
Secrets of nature	viiij ^d
A hundred sundrie Flowers	viiij ^d
A diologue betwene experiance and A Courtier	vj ^d
Cornelius Agrippa of the vanytie of sciences	viiij ^d
Disputacions in Religion	iiiij ^d
The traviled pilgryme	iiij ^d
G: Haddoni opera	vj ^d
A booke of Fawconry	xij ^d
Crowley against Watson	vj ^d
Geo: Gascons posies	vj ^d
The history of travell in the West Indias	viiij ^d
Institution of Christian Princes	iiiij ^d
Orations of Demostynes	iiij ^d
A Tragedy of Freewill	iiij ^d
The Rock of Regard	iiiij ^d
Derings answere to Hardings Replie	vj ^d
The popishe kingdome	iiiij ^d
An Appoegy of the Englyshe writers and preachers by Crowley	iiij ^d
Nowells confutacion of Dormans disprofe	viiij ^d
Tertius Tomus oration' Demostenis	xviiij ^d
The Regimente of Helthe	iiij ^d
Enterludes and Commedies	viiij ^d
Ethica Aristotelis	iiij ^d
A tretise of the lords supper in frenche	iiij ^d
Osorius de nobilitate Civili	iiij ^d
History of the Mapp of the World	vj ^d
An Examynacion of A declaracion in defence of certen Mynisters	ij ^d

Lamberd de Anglor' Legib ^s	xij ^d
Juell's defence of the Appology of the churche of England	ij ^a
Marcus Aurelius	iiij ^d
Mantuans Eglogues	ij ^d
The grounde of Arts by Record	ij ^d
Vita philosophor'	iiij ^d
Ovids Metamorphosis the first iiij books	ij ^d
Bundells of Pamphlets in quarto .5.	xx ^d
Bundles in viij ^e xj	iiij ^a
Doctor Gribalds Epistle	iiij ^d
Panopleia	iiij ^d
Comfort against Calamyty	iiij ^d
Calvynē concerninge offences	ij ^d
Tresor des Leures de Amidis de Gaule	ij ^d
Gesta Romanor'	ij ^d
The Exposicion of the xvth psalme	ij ^d
Genesis, Exod', levit', devtr'	ij ^d
Velcurion in phisica Aristotel'	ij ^d
Institucion of princes frenche	iiij ^d
Meditacions of holy Fathers frenche	iiij ^d
Aphthonius	iiij ^d
Cradock vpon gods providence	iiij ^d
Palengenius in Englishe	iiij ^d
Doctor Watsons twoe Sermons	ij ^d
Cesars Commentaries Englishe	ij ^d
Esopi fabule	ij ^d
Salustius	j ^d
Lodovicus Vives	j ^d
Newes out of Helvetia	j ^d
Nicholls Recantacion	j ^d
A Tretise of the followinge of Christe	ij ^d
A discourse whether the scripture should be in Englishe	j ^d
A spirituall purgation to them that labor in Luthers error	iiij ^d
Johis Baptist' port' magia natural' [i.e. Porta]	ij ^d
Historia Herodiani	ij ^d
Ptritius de institucione Reipublic' [i.e. Patrizzi]	ij ^d
The Works of Madame Helessenne in frenche	ij ^d
Lodovici Vivis exercitacion' in deum	ij ^d
Fabuli Esopici	ij ^d
M: Antonius Flaminius in libr' psalmor'	ij ^d

In the Galery next the Bedchamber

Coopers dictionary Latine and Englishe	vj ^s
Virgill in Latine cum Servij Comentarijs	
Assertio septima sacramentor' aduersus Lutherum	
Virgils Eneiados in Englishe	
The posy of flowred prayers	
A booke of prayers gathered out of S ^t Augustines Meditations	
Osorius de vera sapientia	
An appology of the englishe Semynaries	
Lucubraciones Thome Mori	
Confessio Augustini	
Ethica Aristotelis	
The golden booke of prayers	
The ymage of governance	
Problemata Aristotel'	
A tretyse of the Churche by Phillip Morney	
Ortus vocabulor'	
A panoply of Epistles	
Comon places of S ^t Pawles Epistles	
Frenche testament	
Works of Armory	
The first parte of the Catalogue of Englishe books	
Politike Morrall and Martiall discourses	
Cromptons bookes of her Ma ^{ts} Courtes in Frenche	
Justus Lipsius Constancy in Englishe	
Solons folly [Beacon]	
Difference of these our dayes	
The knowledge and conduct of Warr	
Philotomus Warr betwixt nature and fortune	
The firste and forthe lampes of virginytie	ij ^s
Euphues shadowe	
Civell Conversacion	
John Calvynes Comentary vpon Danyell	
Horace Satires in Englishe	
Gostes and Spirits walkinge by nighte	
Truthe and falsehood by Bunny	
Bilsons Goverment of Christs churche	
Frenche Academy	
An awnswere to lybells by Sutcliff	

Haddon against Osorius	xvij ^d
Howletts reasons answered by Wyborne	iii ^j ^d
Appian in Englishe	xij ^d
Dialogue of Creatures moralized	iiij ^d
Gramaticus Petri Pontani	iiij ^d
Cardanus Comforde	ii ^j ^d
A Tretise of Councell and Councillors of Princes	i ^j ^d
The Wonderfull Workemanshipp of the World	i ^j ^d
The Works of Pomponius Mela	iiij ^d
The Works of Julius Solinus Polyhistor	iiij ^d
Cesar Phrederiks vioage to India [written vioage]	i ^j ^d
The Spanysh Masquerado Tritameron of Love, and Carde of Fancy	iiij ^d
Babington vpon Genesis	xij ^d
Conquest of the West India	vj ^d
The Harmony of Kynge Davids Harpe	vj ^d
Tresure for Englishe men	j ^d
Education of children	j ^d
Damitius de facetijs & exemplis [i.e. Domitius]	vij ^d
youth witt	vj ^d
Honor and armes	vj ^d
Mappe of Middlesex	iiij ^d
Combat of Contrarieties	j ^d
Housholders phylosophy	j ^d
Highwaie to nobilitie	j ^d
The vse of Armory	iiij ^d
xl ^{tv} Pamphlets	ij ^a
The Gardeners Laborinth	vj ^d
Tenne books of Statutes	v ^a
xxiiij ^{or} songebooks	v ^a
Mathematicall Jewell	xx ^d
Hoker of the Lawes [of] Ecclesiasticall [Polity]	xij ^d
Englishe Creede by Rogers	vij ^d
Sheperds Calender	vj ^d
Marlorot vpon the Revilacion of St John	xvij ^d
Guivarra his Epistles	xvij ^d
Natalis Comitis Methologie	xx ^d
xxxv small Pamphlets	xij ^d
Justus Lipsius Civell doctrine	vj ^d
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A merry meetinge	
The world possessed with dyvells	
Goverment of all estates	
Anotomy of abuses	
The Russy Comon welth	
A tretise of Christian rightuousnes	
Recordes of Arithmetike [<i>i.e.</i> R. Recorde]	
Babington on the comaundements	
De vsuris tractatus	
Christian Resolucion	
Principall points of Christian Religeon	
Exposicion of Ecclesiastes	
Sermons vpon Abdias and Jonas	
Ennemy of Idlenes	
An Exposition vpon the v, vi, and viij Chapters of Mathew	
Cornelij Valerij Rethorica	
Bonners Articles	
A progresse of pietie	
Market of vserers	
The olde faith	
pollidor virgill	
Method to mortification	
Gallice lingue institutio	
Histories in frenche	
Davids Slinge	
Silva naracion'	
An appollogy of the churche of England	
Annotacions vpon Ecclesiastes	
Concetti divinissimi di Giralamo Garimberto	
Circles of John Baptist Gello	
Le Image de vertue	
Robert Hutton of the somme of dyvynitie	
Preces private	
Cebes table	
Devout psalmes	
Spirituall exercises	
Preacion' psalmor'	
History of man	
Avium ordo & al' animal'	v ^s
Euclids Eliments	vj ^s
The Lyves of Adam and others	ij ^s

Gvalters Sermons vpon the Acts	iijs	iiijs ^d
Marlorote vpon Mathewe	iiij ^s	
Newe Testament	iiij ^s	
A Byble gilded	vjs	
A psalter		xij ^d
Hortus sanitatis		xij ^d
Hemingius vpon the Ephesians		vj ^d
The Marryners Mirror	ij ^s	
Galie tabule geographice	ij ^s	
Civitates orbis terrar'	xx ^s	
The Mappes of England	xx ^s	
Tableux de choses remarquables advenues en France en ce dernieres Annees		xij ^d
Le grand Abridgment	xvj ^s	
Barrets dictionary	ij ^s	vjd
Hieroglyphica Pierij	iiij ^s	
dyvers Statute bookes bounde vp together	iijs	iiij ^d
Three Volumes of Statutes	vjs	
Bracton de legibus Anglie	iijs	iiij ^d
Ploydons Reports	iiij ^s	
Lexicon iuris Civilis	ij ^s	
Jeoachimi Mynsingeri corpus perfectum Scholior' ad quatuor libr' institution' Juris Civilis	ij ^s	
Abridgment of Statutes		xvij ^d
Willes and testaments	ij ^s	
Cromptons Justice of peace		xij ^d
Phillippus detius de Regulis Juris		iiij ^d
Lez ans de Roy Richard le seconde		vjd
Elenchus annualium tam Regum Edw: 5. Ricardi 3. & Henr' 7, quam Henrici 8.		iiij ^d
Littletons tenures		vjd
Dyui Muxellani Comentaria in regulas Juris pontificij		iiij ^d
Le digest des breifes originals [Theloall]		xij ^d
xij pamphlets		xij ^d
Diers tables		vjd
Brookes Cases		vij ^d
An Abridgment of dyvers [Dyer's] reports		vjd
Xenophons tretise of husbandry		vjd
Duties of Constables		ij ^d
Frenche Littleton by Holliband		ij ^d
A Caviat for suerties		ij ^d

Exposicion of termes of the lawe	vjd
The foundacion of Rethorike	ijd
Natura brevium	xjd
Courte Leete and Courte Baron	vjd
Littletons tenures	iijd
Doctor and Student	vjd
Silva sermonum iucundissimorum	ijjd
Meslau' diolog' cum al'	iijd
Arnold and Lucinda	ijjd
Flowers for Latine speakinge out of Terrence	ijjd
Terrentie comedie	xjd
Adagiorum Epittome	iijjd
Tullies offices Latine and Englishe	ijjd
Tullies offices in Englishe	ijjd
Dictionarium Poeticum	ij's
A Collection out of Munsters Cosmography	vjd
The Historie of John Mendoza	j'd
Emblematum Alciati	ijd
Historie of Leonard Aretine	ijjd
Whittington de octo partibus orationis	vjd
Sermon' Convival' tomus primus	xjd
A Schole of wise conceipts	ijd
Traictte des deceptions de servitutes envers leur Maisters	ijjd
Facetie & Motti di diuerse persone	j'd
xijj questions of Bocace	j'd
The Spaniards lief	ijjd
Plaisants & facetieux deviz	ijd
Joyeuses adventures	ijd
Twoe paper books	v's
The Historie of Cambria	xjd

In the Parlor

An olde Frenche bible	v's
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The Studdy beneth.

Three volumes of the bible	vjs	vijjd
The goulden Epistles of Guyvarra	ij's	
Tragicall discourses		xjd
Pamphlets vij		vjd
Chosen Sermons of Martyn Luther		xjd

The seconde tome of the volume of the <i>paraphrase</i> of Erasmus vpon the newe testament	xvij ^d
Testamentum novum Beze	xvj ^d
Liber de simplicitate christiane vite	ij ^d
The trewe difference betwene the regall and ecclesiasticall power	iiij ^d
A regiment against the fever	ij ^d
A dispraise of the life of A Courtier	j ^d
An exposicion vpon the Creede	ij ^d
A booke of nobility	iiiij ^d
A Confutacion of vnwritten verities	ij ^d
Tully ad Herenium	iiij ^d
Christian prayers by Henry Bull	ij ^d
Precation' Roff[f]ens' [Fisher]	ij ^d
Libellus precation' Johannis Feri	ij ^d
sempatem psalme penitential' cum al' [septem]	j ^d
vij Sobbs of a sorrofull soule	iiij ^d
Augustini meditac'	xij ^d
A goulden Chaine out of the psalmes	viiij ^d
Flores operum Barnardi	viiij ^d
The ymage of god	vj ^d
The vocation of all nacions by St Ambrose	ij ^d
The Apology of S ^r Tho: More	vij ^d
A godly exercise	j ^d
A smale booke covered with a vellum pastbord conteyninge parte of the olde testament	viiij ^d
Immortalitie of the soule	ij ^d
Booke of psalmes	iiij ^d
Godly prayers and meditacions	iiij ^d
A tretize againte the feare of deathe	ij ^d

[End]

Early Binding Stamps of Religious Significance in Certain American Libraries: A Supplementary Report

EUNICE WEAD

A STYLE OF BOOK DECORATION WHICH HAS attracted very little attention in this country and yet offers ample opportunity for study, is the infinitely varied blind-stamped binding of the 15th and first half of the 16th century. Some years ago an article by the present writer entitled "Binding Stamps of Religious Significance in Certain American Libraries" appeared in *The Colophon* (Part 20, 1935), describing examples found in a comparatively small number of libraries. Since then the search has been extended from the Library of Congress and other eastern libraries to the Huntington Library in California, and an interesting new group of stamps seem worth reporting upon and illustrating. The scope is limited as in the previous paper, and the intention is not to reproduce designs which may easily be found in books familiar to students of binding, but to offer a few which to the writer at least are new. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the permission kindly given by the various libraries and individual owners to illustrate the bindings under discussion.

Since bindings decorated in blind, that is without the use of gold or color, are less familiar to book collectors than the more ornate specimens with gold ornament, it may be well to explain briefly the technique of producing them. The earliest and simplest method was to make relief impressions, one at a

time, upon dampened leather with a small deeply engraved die or stamp, which was heated before using, and there are scattered examples of this technique as early as the 10th and 11th centuries, though its great flowering of artistic development did not come until the 12th. After a gap of two centuries which have left almost no examples, the 15th offers an enormous number of bindings adorned in this manner. In the late 1400's a second method was devised, the use of the roll, by which a repetition of one or of several designs engraved on a small wheel could quickly be obtained. Sometimes the roll is used in combination with single stamps, sometimes alone, or again combined with the third form of decoration, the panel. By using this comparatively large die, the cover of a book could be more rapidly filled than by repeated impressions of a single tool, or even by repeated rows of a design applied by a roll. This panel stamp was also of metal engraved in relief, intended to be tied onto the dampened leather of a book cover and inserted into a heavy press. Its period of greatest use was the first half of the 16th century, but there are earlier examples, one of them, according to a Dutch authority, as early as the 13th century. For artistic interest, the panel is greatly superior to the two simpler methods, for its ampler surface gives opportunity for delineation of scenes as well as of single persons, and some of the panels are comparable in fineness of execution to contemporary woodcuts and engravings, from which indeed some of them are copied.

The reader concerned with the background of this subject must certainly consult the work of three English authorities—Weale, who pioneered in the 1890's in publishing an account of the blind-stamped bindings of the South Kensington Museum¹ and whose unfinished research on similar bindings in the British Museum was continued by another hand;² Goldschmidt,

1. W. H. J. Weale, *Bookbindings and Rubbings of Bindings in the National Art Library, South Kensington*, 2 v. (London, 1898, 1894).

2. *Early Stamped Bookbindings in the British Museum . . . mainly by the late W. H. J. Weale, completed by Laurence Taylor* (London, 1922).

whose two volumes discuss and illustrate his own remarkable collection, since dispersed;³ and Hobson,⁴ whose great knowledge ranged over the whole field of binding, and included meticulous study of blind-stamped specimens from the 12th through the 16th centuries. The copious notes and explanations of these last two writers are delightful reading. From them and others to whom they refer one may learn many things, for instance that these bindings were produced in both monastic and commercial establishments, some of which may be recognized by certain small stamps peculiar to them; that it is sometimes possible to determine ownership of the volumes by recognizing characteristic stamps such as the arms of a monastery, or its patron saint, or more obviously its name on a scroll or label in gothic lettering. The reader will also see how a careful student goes about trying to localize a binding which may lack its own identifying stamps, attaching great importance to the pattern by which the stamps are arranged, and to the waste material which may have been used to line the covers and back, and to inscriptions of ownership or anything else showing provenance. Furthermore, he will observe that it was the custom to send books out from the printing centers all over Europe, in unbound sheets, and that comparatively few instances are recorded of a printer or publisher, in the period under discussion, selling his books already bound. Therefore—and this should be emphasized—place of printing and of binding are by no means necessarily the same, in fact they are often widely separated. So in this paper inclusion of the place of printing is for the interest of incunabula study rather than that of binding. All these points and infinitely more in the way of information and elucidation may be found in the books referred to.

Examples of blind-stamped bindings are not hard to find in

3. E. Ph. Goldschmidt, *Gothic & Renaissance Bookbindings*, 2 v. (London, 1928).

4. *English Binding before 1500* (Cambridge, 1929), and several monographs published by

the Bibliographical Society, London, are concerned primarily with blind-stamped bindings. He has also written extensively on other styles.

American libraries, and are nowhere near so scarce as are the persons who have been interested enough to pay attention to them. It takes a little trouble sometimes to make out the intaglio designs of single stamps which are often as small as a dime and seldom larger than a quarter dollar, and are often clearer in rubbings than in the original impressions. Numerically the designs run into the thousands, some of them purely conventional, some of flowers and vines, birds and animals both actual and mythical like the wyvern, griffin, and others from medieval bestiaries, some representing hunting scenes and other secular affairs. The leathers which take particularly well the impressions of the metal dies are calf and pigskin, stretched over wooden boards as a rule, and for the most part on folios, or, less frequently, quartos. The panels are mostly on smaller books. Our examples are nearly all on brown calf folios over wooden boards, and this may be assumed unless otherwise specified. The calf varies in quality from a very fine and highly polished to a decidedly rough surface, and in color from light to reddish brown. Details of bevelling of the wooden boards, of clasps and catches, headbands, and other technical matters are omitted as not of general interest, though of importance to students of binding technique. Our imprints are for the most part German incunabula and many famous printers are here represented. Likewise the stamps may be assumed to be of German workmanship unless otherwise stated.

Our illustrations are produced from photostat negatives of pencil rubbings made directly from the books. Negatives are used rather than positives, as they are clearer. The exceptions are Fig. 4, made from a photostat of the book itself, not from a rubbing, and Fig. 21, which is a positive. All illustrations are of the actual size of the originals.

The panel stamp being the latest is also the highest development artistically of decoration in blind, so we begin with a specimen found quite unexpectedly during the recent war, when the treasures of the Army Medical Library of Washington

were stored for safe keeping in Cleveland. It represents Our Lady of Pity (Fig. 1), appearing on both covers of a small folio (Averroes' *Colliget: liber medicina*, printed at Venice in 1482), surrounded by a leafy border formed by a roll. Details were submitted to Mr. Hobson, then at work on his monograph *Blind-stamped Panels in the English Book Trade, c1485-1555*.⁵ He added this to his list of panels, calling it almost certainly Flemish in origin, of the 16th century. The gothic inscription surrounding the central figure reads: 'Salve mater | dolorosa iuxta crucem | lacrimosa | in ualle tristitie' |, which suggests of course the familiar Stabat Mater. Mr. Hobson's comment is "no doubt the opening of a hymn. The first line is quoted in Julian's *Hymnology* from a manuscript *Horae* of about 1440 in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (MS.258;B.11.19). Unfortunately, this is inaccessible at present, so it is neither possible to say whether the second and third lines correspond with those on the panels, nor whether the hymn is a variant of the Stabat Mater, as Julian says, or a completely different composition as the different third lines indicate—the third line of the Stabat Mater being 'Dum pendebat filius'." Mr. Hobson was writing during the war, and no doubt the manuscript to which he refers is now available for some student of hymnology to settle this point.

Cyril Davenport's *Cameo Book Stamps* (1911) illustrates by a line drawing a similar but not identical panel with the same inscription, while Dr. Ilse Schunke⁶ describes under the heading "Pietà Meister," but does not illustrate, a panel which seems to be identical in both design and size. It should be noted that her description is in an article on *Cologne* rolls and panels, but

5. London, Bibliographical Society, 1944. cf. p. 108. Mr. Hobson's death on January 5, 1949, is an immeasurable loss to students of binding, and it is good to know that there is a possibility of publishing his most recent work, on binding styles assignable to individual collectors, although it was not entirely completed. The writer takes satisfaction in acknowledging

here his great help and encouragement over a period of years, both by correspondence and personally in his London office.

6. Ilse Schunke, ed., *Beiträge zum Rollen- und Platteneinband im 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1937), p. 360.

she was writing several years before Mr. Hobson, whose work represents later research.

Another panel of possible Flemish origin and much artistic charm is on a small binding in the library of Union Theological Seminary in New York (Fig. 2). It covers an octavo imprint from Antwerp (Rosemond, *Confessionale*, 1518) together with one from Paris of 1503 and another from Leipzig of 1518. An inscription on a flyleaf reads: "liber B Mariae in Huisborg", i.e. the Benedictine monastery Huyseburg in the diocese of Halberstadt. The upper cover shows a graceful halo-ed figure with flowing hair and draperies, who seems to be pouring something from her bowl into a bowl or plate held by a small figure whose head comes only as high as her knee. The tiled pavement and the wall against which she stands are decorated with a conventional flower which may be a rose, and this together with her gesture of bounty suggests that the lady may be St. Elizabeth of Hungary. Thanks are due to Dr. Edgar Wind of the Art Department of Smith College for this attribution. Mr. Hobson (in a letter to the writer) commented that no other panel of her is known, and that her usual crown is not discernible in this not very clear impression. As to this latter objection, a checking of numerous references in the Princeton and other iconographic indexes reveals several representations with halo but no crown, and it is hoped that raising the question here may invite further discussion. Incidentally, Holbein's painting of St. Elizabeth in the Munich Gallery shows a similar attitude, but here the crown is visible. In our reproduction of the binding, the dark tongue at the right is the leather clasp extending from the lower cover.

A panel of a quite different sort, though less decorative and in our example badly worn, has nevertheless proved to be of great interest. This represents one of the angels of the Apocalypse (Fig. 3) on a binding belonging to Holy Name College, Washington, D. C. (Alexander de Hales, *In Psalmos*, Venice, 1496). The central figure stands out against a starry background,

and with the help of the description in Revelation X, one can imagine this "mighty angel come down from Heaven," "his right foot upon the sea and his left foot on the earth," one hand lifted up to Heaven and in the other a little book open. "And I went unto the angel and said to him, 'Give me the little book.' And he said unto me, 'Take it, and eat it up; and it shall make thy belly bitter, but it shall be in thy mouth sweet as honey.'" It is the Latin words of the angel's dismal command which form the surrounding gothic inscription, well-nigh illegible, but by a triumph of erudition and patience it has been interpreted by the librarian of Holy Name College, Fr. Barnabas Abele, O.F.M., and supplies the clue for identifying this particular Apocalyptic angel. He sends this version of Revelation X, 9, reading from the upper left corner: "Accipe librum, et devora illum: et faciet amaricari ventrum tuum, sed in ore tuo erit dulce tamquam mel." The book once belonged to the Minorites of Brussels, according to two inscriptions within, and there are other details to suggest that it was bound in the Netherlands. Here is another instance of a long journey from a printing press on the shore of the Adriatic to a bindery all the way across Europe.

In the Walters Gallery in Baltimore is a panel which presumably has not been reproduced, though it is described by Weale (R490) as of Burgundy origin, and shows the Annunciation beneath a crocketed canopy. The binding of lightish brown calf encases an early 15th century vellum manuscript Book of Hours of Paris use. The identical panel with some of the same and some different border stamps is on a binding belonging to Mr. J. Christian Bay, Librarian Emeritus of the John Crerar Library, Chicago. Here the design appears on both covers of a charming illuminated manuscript of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, and shows, like the Walters binding, evidence of French origin and ownership. The manuscript belonged as recently as 1906 to the famous library of George Dunn of Woolley Hall, near Maidenhead. Our illustration (Fig. 4) is

from the lower cover of Mr. Bay's book, and reproduces the whole cover, to show the borders of small square stamps and of oblong stamps with a hunting scene, the whole surrounded by a fleur-de-lis design made by a roll.

There must be many examples of panels, rolls and single stamps of interest in the possession of other American book collectors. One of them, Mr. Howard Goodhart of New York, has been kind enough to permit illustration of a pair of panels on the binding of a late 15th century Dutch manuscript on paper of Thomas à Kempis. One of them represents St. John holding a chalice (Fig. 5), the other St. Barbara standing beside her tower (Fig. 6). Goldschmidt (no. 210) describes a St. John panel from Antwerp which is similar, though slightly larger in each direction. This difference may perhaps be explained by the differing amount of shrinkage in the leathers. Mr. Goodhart's manuscript is from the fine old collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middlehill, near Cheltenham.

Turning now to the earliest form of decoration in blind in general use, the single stamp, the two examples which follow have come from the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California. A small quarto printed in Cologne by Ulrich Zell⁷ shows in a lozenge Adam and Eve, the tree and the serpent between them, Eve holding the fatal apple in her left hand (Fig. 7). Adam and Eve stamps of other shapes have been illustrated, but not this lozenge, so far as discovered. The book once belonged to the Praemonstratensians in Ratisbon. A curious lozenge which may possibly be meant for Eve is on a Strassburg folio of about 1481.⁸ It is impressed upon a reddish brown binding whose wide center panel is crossed by diagonal fillets, the resulting spaces filled by this tool. Comparison with some of Cranach's work has suggested to at least three iconographers that this is intended for Eve (Fig. 8).

New Testament subjects are much more numerous than those

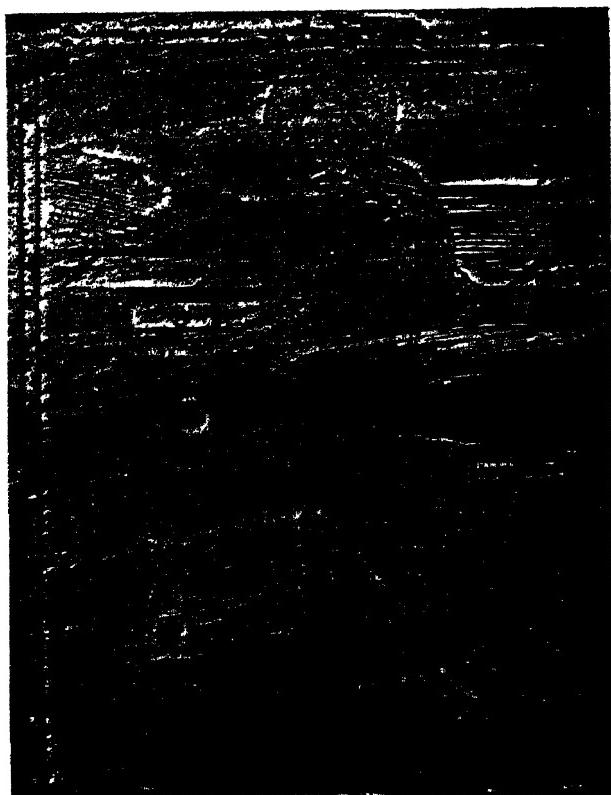
7. Antoninus, *Defecerunt scrutantes scrutineo* 8. Eyb, *Margarita poetica*.
(1470).



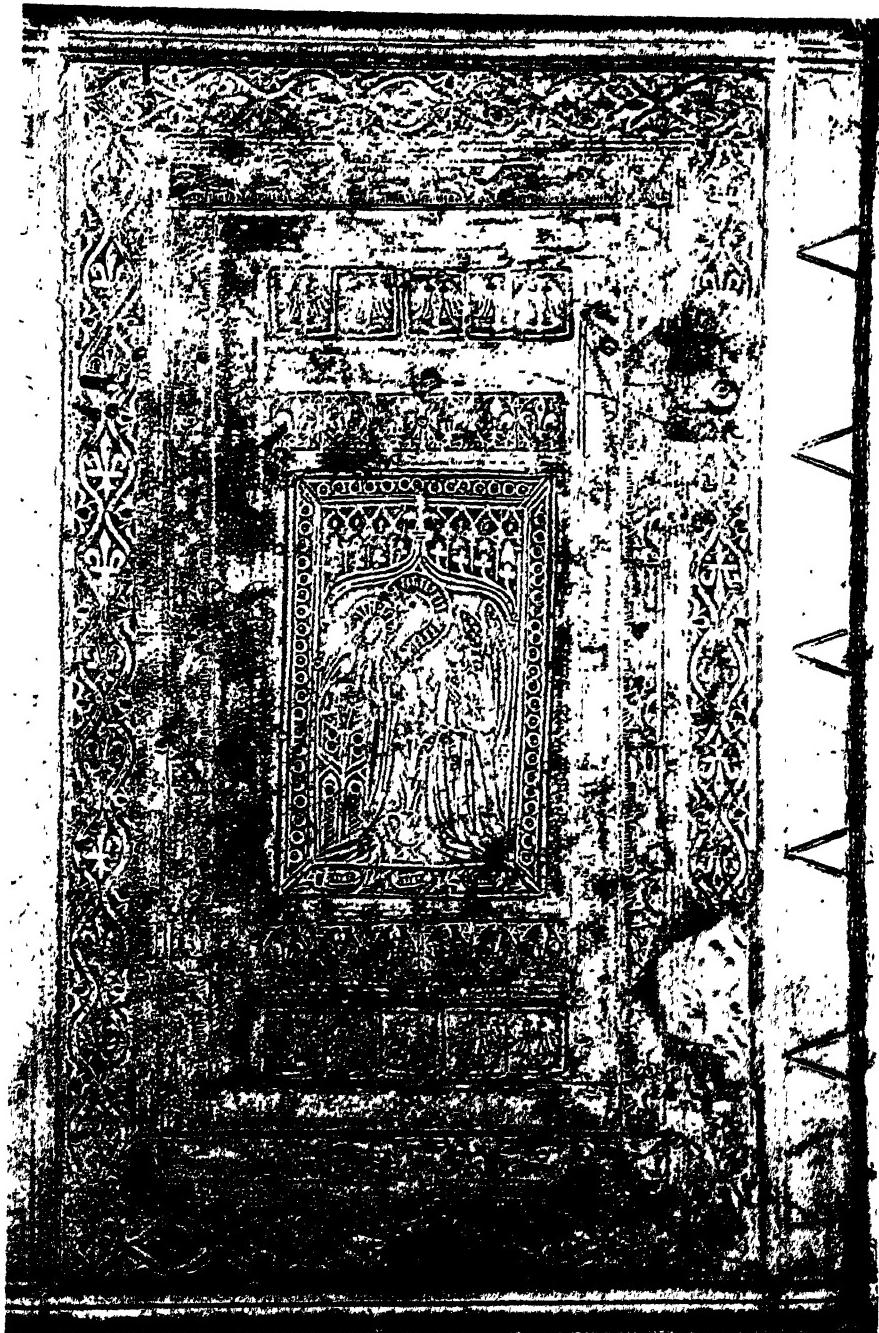
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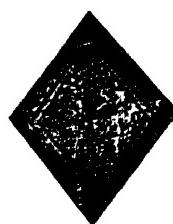
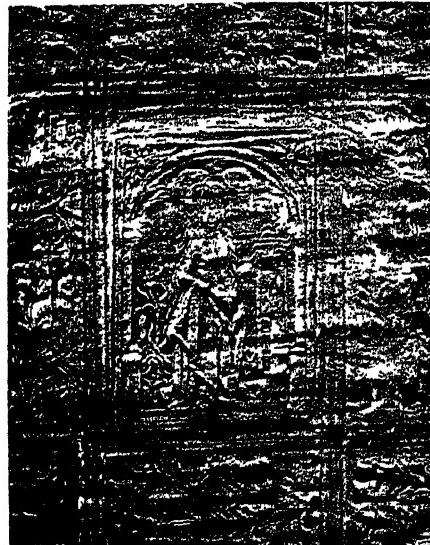


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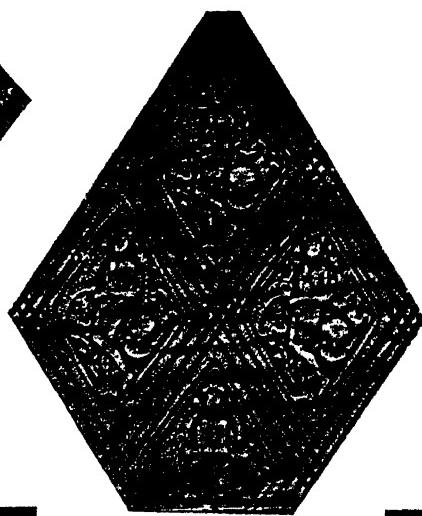


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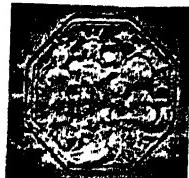
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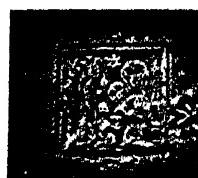
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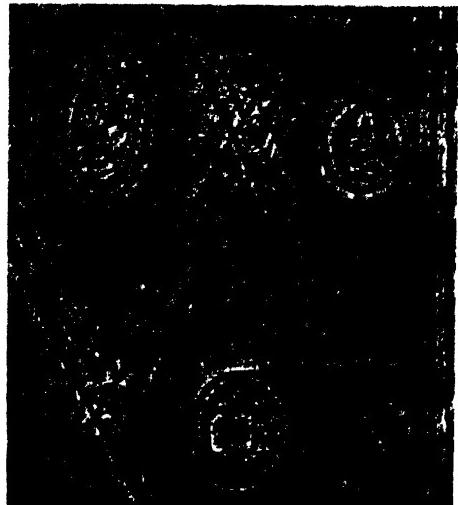
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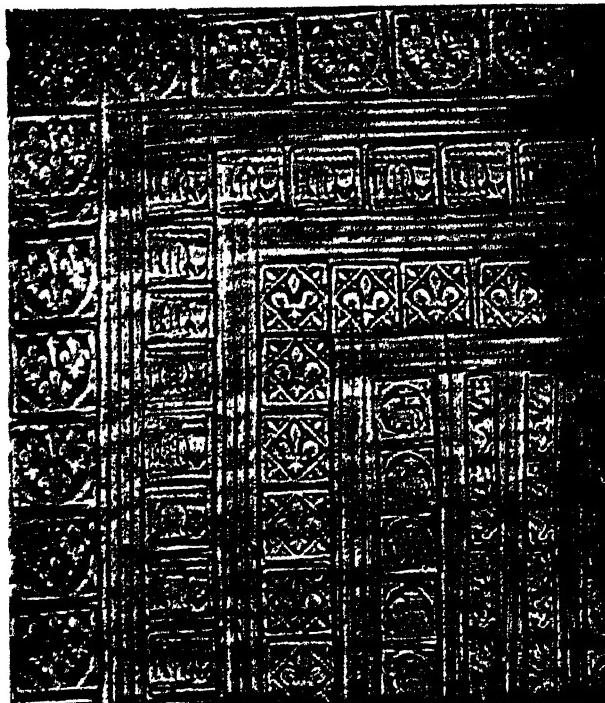
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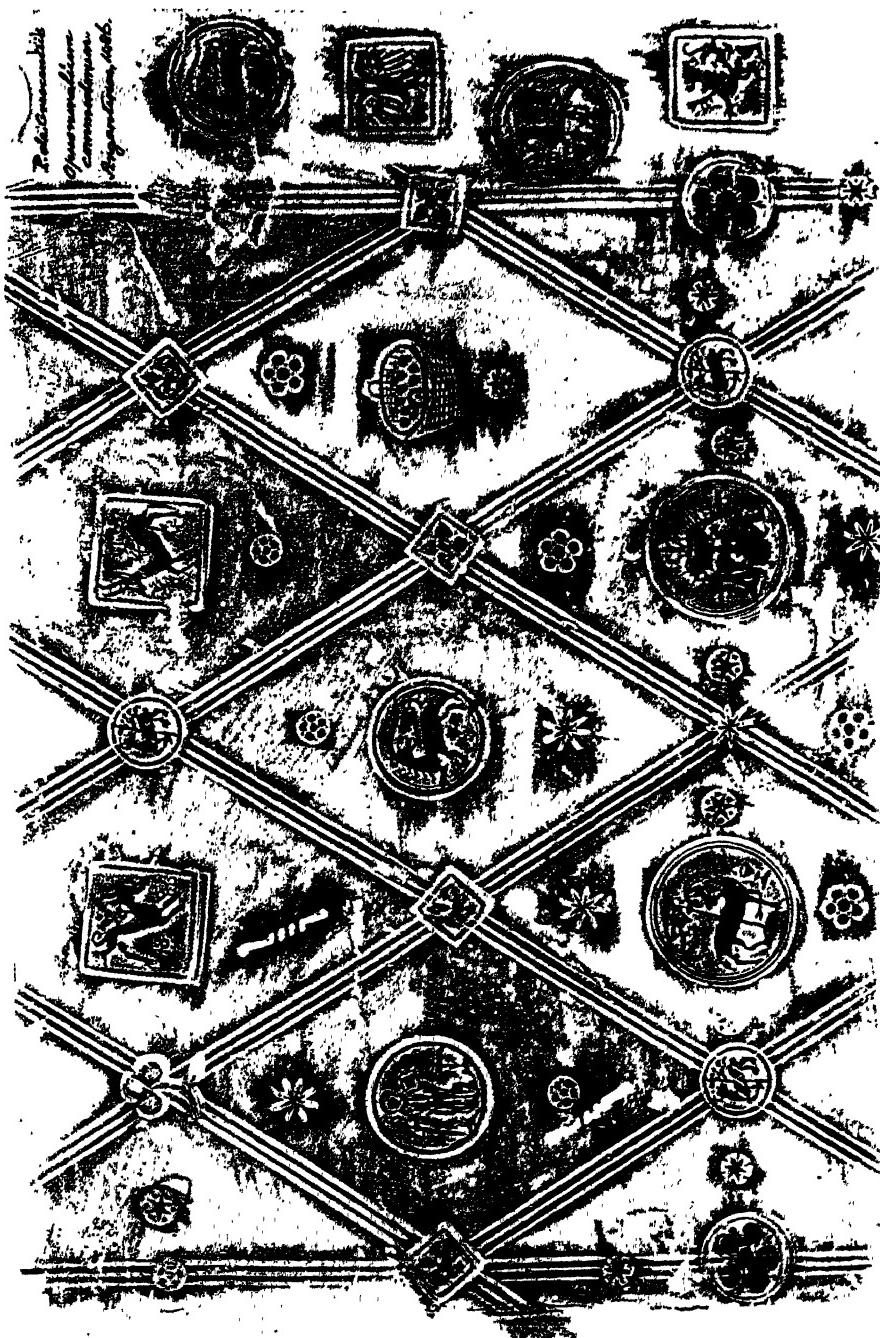
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19



20



from the Old, and the Annunciation is a favorite theme of the small stamps as well as the panels. It appears on the binding of a Huntington Library quarto printed in Strassburg in 1487⁹ and inscribed "Ad Bibliothecam ffrm Min. convent. ad S:Salvatorem Ratisbonae." On each cover is a narrow strip made up of five impressions of two different rectangular stamps, one an Annunciation (Fig. 9), the other two mythical birds.

The Adoration of the Magi is found not infrequently upon panels, but it is a complicated design, and is much less common as a small single stamp. Weale-Taylor describes but does not illustrate an octagonal stamp (Fig. 10), evidently the same as the one which appears upon another Huntington Library binding, covering a folio imprint of Ulrich Zell¹⁰ and once the property of the monastery of St. Ludgarde in Werden on the Ruhr. A delicate square stamp of the same theme (Fig. 11) is on a Latin Bible, printed by Rusch of Strassburg in 1480. It now belongs to the Library of Congress, and was formerly in the library of the Canons Regular of the Holy Cross in Cologne. The subject was particularly popular in that city, for the bones of the Three Kings are believed to rest there. This tool has been described, but not illustrated, by Ilse Schunke in her work on Cologne bindings referred to above (p. 360).

As for representations of the saints, Catherine of Alexandria with her wheel is often found. The John Boyd Thacher Collection of the Library of Congress has a quarto printed by Froben in Basel in 1496,¹¹ bound in lightish brown calf over deeply bevelled boards, the center filled with a floral diaper. Of several small stamps, the significant ones are in the upper and lower borders of the upper cover. One is a large rectangle containing a full-length figure of St. Catherine (Fig. 12), the other a small circle with the initial A, or possibly monogram TA, with small letters tentatively read as w and p on either side. There

9. Marchesinus, *Mamotrectus*. Printed by Flach.

10. Albertus Magnus, *Sermones de tempore* (Cologne, about 1475).

11. Herpf, *Speculum aureum*.

are no inscriptions to help in assigning provenance, but the small letters suggest the bindings from the Dominican monastery in Vienna identified by the initials W P W (Wienenses Praedicatorum), illustrated by Goldschmidt (no. 9).

Many other stamps representing saints are in the rich collections of the Huntington Library, among them the three following examples. A delicate little octagon contains St. George and the Dragon (Fig. 13) upon a folio in rough calf printed by Koelhoff in Cologne in 1474.¹² Unfortunately the book is not in good condition and there are no inscriptions or other marks of provenance. There are panels representing St. George, but rarely does he appear on single tools. A folio printed in Venice in 1472 by the famous Jenson¹³ has found its way into a German pigskin binding which belonged in the 18th century, at least, to the library of the bishopric of Eichstadt in Bavaria. Its interest lies in the rectangular stamp of St. Sebastian (Fig. 14), accompanied by circular stamps of the Annunciation, the Virgin and Child within a glory, a lion rampant, and a lozenge of the Paschal lamb.

Whether saint or Virgin, a stamp which has led to considerable research is on an incunable in the Houghton Library at Harvard (Albertus Magnus, *Opus in Evangelium*, Strassburg, Mentelin, ca 1474). This pigskin folio once belonged to the aforementioned Dominican monastery in Vienna, as attested by an inscription (Conventus Viennensis ordinis FF Praedicatorum) and the characteristic stamps of this bindery, an open crown between the initials P and W. It came eventually into the possession of James Russell Lowell who gave it to the Harvard Library. There is a variety of familiar stamps including the Virgin and Child and the Holy Face, but the one which is a puzzle contains in a circle a halo-ed female figure, leading by her left hand a very recognizable devil (Fig. 15). His horns show plainly and he walks on his two feet as his right arm is

12. Thomasinus de Ferraria, *Sermones quadraginta*.

13. Aulus Gellius, *Noctium Atticarum commentarium*.

held by the saint. At her right is a figure interpreted as a church by several medievalists who have been consulted. Now this identical stamp of which there is a poor impression on a brown sheepskin folio in the British Museum (I.C.5887: *Biblia Germanica*, Augsburg, 1480) has been called by the above-mentioned distinguished writer on bindings, Cyril Davenport,¹⁴ "the Temptation," and it would be easy to leave it at that. But the form of the garment and the suggestion of flowing hair over the shoulders force the conclusion that the central figure is feminine, and not intended to represent Christ.

Where does this lead us? One looks for legends of the Virgin and the devil, and finds that the Theophilus story might with a stretch of the imagination apply. Briefly cited, this 6th-century Cilician churchman, an early prototype of Dr. Faustus, sold his soul to the devil, but his contract was retrieved by the Virgin and publicly burned. The small figure balancing the devil might then be intended for the church of which Theophilus refused to become the bishop. There are several representations of this legend in stained glass and sculpture, for instance a bas-relief at Notre Dame in Paris, but they show little resemblance to this stamp. Unconvinced by this interpretation, we seek among the legends of women saints and the devil, and one expert in iconography suggests St. Dymphna, represented in art with a fettered devil at her feet or leading a devil bound. She is an obscure 7th-century saint venerated at Gheel, near Antwerp, whither she fled from Ireland. Her father pursued her, however, with his immoral advances, and murdered her, and on this spot a church was erected in her memory. At this shrine lunatics and those possessed of devils were miraculously cured. Another woman saint who disciplined the devil was Julian, who held him by a rope around his neck and scourged him, but this attribution seems less adequate, so let us call her St. Dymphna, until a better suggestion is made. The impression on the binding in the British Museum is very indistinct, as the

14. Notation on his ms. *Notes and rubbings of bindings*, consulted at the British Museum.

writer can testify, and fails to show the two-piece garment. This is a pity, for one would otherwise gladly accept any identification made by Davenport.

Tools of religious symbols were very common—the pelican in her piety, the lion, unicorn and numerous others. One which is new to the writer is a hand raised in benediction (Fig. 16). It is one of several small circular and oval stamps on the white pigskin binding of a folio Bible printed by Richel in Basel no later than 1474, and belonging like so many of our other examples to the Huntington Library. The covers are divided by triple fillets into small compartments, each of which contains a single stamp. Other designs are an acorn, and the gothic letters 'eps' (with a tie above), *i.e.* episcopus. Inscriptions indicate continuous German ownership—*Liber Campidonensis*, *i.e.* from the Benedictine establishment at Kempten in Bavaria, and several private owners including the German collector Vollbehr whose incunabula, among them the Gutenberg Bible, were bought by the Library of Congress in 1930.

Another example from the Huntington Library is a single impression of a strange rectangular tool showing a figure with arms upraised, probably an orant (Fig. 17). It is on the binding of a Basel imprint of about 1477.¹⁵ Fifteenth-century inscriptions show that it belonged to the monastery of Mount Calvary near Emmerich, and a later stamp reads: *Bibl. Publ. Basiliensi*. The design of the binding is simple, with only two stamps besides the Sacred Monogram and the orant.

There is a great variety of designs with religious initials or legends or scrolls. A charming 14th-century Book of Hours at the Walters Gallery (W293) has within a small square the gothic initials 'IM', standing presumably for *Ihesu Maria*, and beside them is a graceful flower which may be the lily, symbol of the Virgin (Fig. 18). The stamps are arranged in columns as is usual in French bindings, and among them are two forms of fleur-de-lis and a paschal lamb.

15. Astesanus, *Summa de casibus conscientiae*. Printed by Wenssler and Richel.

The Huntington Library has two Basel-printed folios which once belonged to the Priory of St. Maynulf, Boddiken, Westphalia, and were probably bound there. Both have the familiar distinctive label in gothic letters 'maynulf9' as well as 'ihesu' and 'maria'. One of them¹⁶ adds the label 'iohēs bapt' (Fig. 19) while the other¹⁷ has in the center of its upper cover a large lozenge with a halo-ed figure holding a church in his right hand. The impression is too indistinct to reproduce, but a good imagination aided by description of the attributes of St. Maynulf is able to detect the antlers of a stag lying beside him. Weale-Taylor (131) describes the labels but does not illustrate them.

Many other examples of monastic ownership marks have been found in this study, stamps representing both patron saints and names of monasteries, as for instance the gothic labels 'berchem', an establishment in the province of Antwerp, and 'codex sancti maximi', i.e. of Treves. Illustrations of numerous stamps of this type are available in Goldschmidt and other authorities. There is a special point about our example of this St. Maximin binding, whose ownership is marked not only by the label but also by two inscriptions. This is the use, only once, of a tool showing a two-handled basket tipped so that its contents of fruit or possibly eggs are clearly visible. The binding is on a quarto printed by Koberger of Nuremberg in 1494¹⁸ and belongs to the Library of Congress. On the upper cover are large circular stamps of the Evangelists. The lower cover is centered by a floral diaper from which the basket hangs, and there are also two circular stamps, one of a conventional rose, the other containing a small shield within a vine-like border, very indistinct (Fig. 20).

A second example of the basket stamp appears on a photostat from Mr. Hobson, with the information that it is on a

16. Bernardinus Senensis, *Sermones* (Amorbach, 1489).

17. Johannes de Milis, *Repertorium* (Kessler, 1488).

18. *Modus legendi abbreviaturas.*

book printed in Strassburg in 1486.¹⁹ The photostat shows only one impression of the basket, but there are nineteen other stamps of various shapes and sizes (Fig. 21), none of which except the basket are on the St. Maximin binding discussed above. A third instance of this mysterious little stamp is on the binding of a Strassburg imprint dated c. 1484-87²⁰ belonging to the Huntington Library, without marks of provenance, unfortunately. In addition to the basket used twice on each cover, it has the same large circular stamps of the Evangelists found on the St. Maximin binding, and the same small stamps of the paschal lamb, a star and a floweret as on our second example, which seems to establish a relation between them.

Goldschmidt (no. 31) discusses a binding from the workshop of St. Maximin with a stamp showing the arms of the abbey. Though lacking the basket stamp, it has presumably at least three in common with our second example, the photostat. But without illustrations one cannot be sure, for the same sorts of conventional tools were the property of many different binders. Nor can we reconcile the small shield in our first example with the arms of the abbey which he describes. So here is one more question to await further evidence. But the little basket used so sparingly, as if for identification rather than for decoration, is enough to pique one's curiosity, even though it cannot claim to have religious significance, and it would be a satisfaction if one could prove it a distinctive mark of St. Maximin.

It is hoped that these notes may show that in the field of blind-stamped bindings there is a great deal not only of iconographic interest, but also a chance for real research. For instance, the relation of designs in the single stamps to those found in other minor arts is obvious to an alert observer in Gothic churches who sees in the small sculptured details and

19. P. de Crescentiis, *Opus ruralium commodorum*. Location unknown.

20. Symon de Cassia, *Expositio super totum corpus evangeliorum*. Printed by Prüss.

the wood carving similar themes and shapes. And as has been suggested, a study of the origin of certain panels leads back to contemporary woodcuts and engravings. An encouraging aspect of the study of this kind of binding is that any library which possesses books old enough to have been bound prior to about 1550 has great possibilities—provided they have not been tampered with—which have hardly been tapped in this country, and the fact that so few students have investigated this rather unspectacular type shows that it is an uncrowded field here. The amateur must realize, however, that though there are excellent basic discussions in the books already mentioned, every binding is a problem in itself, and except by a very slim chance no two are alike, so there is enough for him to work out for himself. To paraphrase the close of our *Colophon* article, one really should be an expert in ecclesiastical history and hagiography, in the history of the period in which the bindings were made, in iconography, in paleography for the deciphering of gothic lettering on binding stamps and of inscriptions of ownership, both often abbreviated almost beyond recognition. But even lacking these high qualifications, he can enjoy his new discoveries, as the writer can testify, and be grateful to anyone who sets him right, both as to their novelty or lack of it, and as to his own interpretations.

The Printing by the Cambridge Press of *A Platform of Church Discipline*, 1649*

LAWRENCE G. STARKEY

A PLATFORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE, A quarto printed by the Cambridge, Massachusetts, Press in 1649, is important to religious historians as the foundation of New England Congregationalism. As such this book has been widely reprinted, both here and in England: Holmes describes twenty-six editions and three reissues from 1649 to 1893.¹ To bibliographers, the first edition of the *Platform* is important as the first extant work of Samuel Green, third Cambridge printer,² who operated the Press from

*Editor's note: After galley proof had been returned and was in process of paging, Dr. Starkey was so fortunate as to secure information on an eighth copy of the *Platform* by courtesy of its owner, Mr. Thomas W. Streeter. Although no new variants occur in this copy, some are found in combinations which differ from those in the other seven copies examined. The new evidence thus furnished serves powerfully to confirm Dr. Starkey's original conclusions arrived at, in small part, by another line of bibliographical reasoning which had, although less certainly, disproved the case for half-sheet imposition in the preliminary gathering. It has seemed advisable, therefore, to utilize to the full the evidence of the Streeter copy in a more direct manner than by appending an addendum paragraph. Because of the advanced state of the proof, all necessary mention could not be made in the text proper, although some was possible. For this reason,

a certain number of supplementary footnotes have been constructed on evidence communicated by Dr. Starkey to serve as a running commentary to equate the Streeter copy with the discussion in the text of the seven copies which Dr. Starkey had personally examined as a basis for the present article.

1. Thomas J. Holmes, *The Minor Masters, A List of Their Works* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), pp. 68-81.

2. Stephen Daye is generally credited with being the first Cambridge printer and with having printed *The Whole Book of Psalms* (Bay Psalm Book) in 1640. Certainly Stephen had some connection with the early Cambridge Press, although there is some doubt that he was ever its compositor: extant letters written by him contain spellings which, even by seventeenth-century standards, indicate

1649 until it ceased to print in 1692. The *Platform* also presents a number of interesting bibliographical problems, which have long been unsolved. The purpose of this paper is to clear up several such points about the printing of this book.

There has been no agreement about the dating of the *Platform*. Roden wrote that it was issued "in the late summer of 1649,"³ but Winship believes that it was printed after 19 October 1649,⁴ at which date the following entry was made in the minutes of the Massachusetts General Court:

Whereas a booke hath binn psented to the Courte, intituled a Platorme of Church Discipline, gathered out of the Word of God, &c, being the result of what the synod did in their assembly in the yere 1647 at Cambridge, for their consideracōn and acceptance, the Court judgeth it meete to commend it to the judicyous and pious consideracōn of the seuerall churches wthin this jurisdiccion. . . .⁵

I feel, however, that the book was printed before the autumn meeting of the General Court and that the wording of the entry in the Court records was copied from the printed title-page. Furthermore, on 17 December 1649 a London printer entered the title in the *Stationers' Register*; thus either a book or a manuscript had been dispatched to England before the General Court met.⁶ Since crossings from New to Old England

that he was hardly more than semi-literate. Stephen's son Matthew was Green's immediate predecessor as Cambridge printer. Matthew's name appears in the imprint of the *Almanack for 1647* (published before March, 1647), and he may have done the printing for a number of years before that time, in addition to his work as Steward of Harvard College. He died on 10 May 1649.

3. Robert F. Roden, *The Cambridge Press, 1638-1692* (New York, 1905), p. 53.

4. George Parker Winship, *The Cambridge Press, 1638-1692* (Philadelphia, 1945), p. 113. In the same place Winship states that on 19

October 1649 the General Court called for an edition of 500 copies of the *Platform*. I have been unable to find any evidence to support this, or that the book was printed at public expense.

5. *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, ed. by Nathaniel B. Shurtleff (Boston, 1853), III, 177-78.

6. The book was entered by Hannah Allen, widow of a London printer who had in 1643 reprinted the lost Cambridge Press broadside of the *Capitall Lawes* of 1642. What has not hitherto been commented upon is that the well-known London printer, Lodowick Lloyd,

in less than two months were unknown at that time, a copy of the *Platform* printed after the General Court meeting could not have reached England by 17 December. The only reason for delaying the printing of the book until the Court met would have been to make certain of the recommendation of the General Court; if an actual approval had been necessary, however, it is unlikely that an unapproved manuscript would have been sent to England. The evidence, I believe, while it is admittedly inconclusive, points to the *Platform* having been in print before 19 October 1649. The Court, as a consequence, was not ordering the manuscript to be printed, but instead simply recommending a book already in existence. The language of the Court entry seems to bear out this hypothesis.

Further information about the printing of the first edition of the Cambridge *Platform* is found in what may be called the first bibliographical document in the history of printing in English North America: a list compiled in 1656 by Stephen Daye and Samuel Green of printing done at Cambridge until approximately 1654, with some sketchy data about receipts from sales, printing costs, and quantities of paper used.⁷ This document has been well-studied by Winship.⁸ As we might expect, the data about the *Platform* was the first entry made by Green:

soon after entered the same book in the *Register* on 28 December 1649. Lloyd's entry was deleted, however, probably when the duplication was noted. It seems very unlikely that two manuscripts would have found their way to London within a few days of each other, whereas there is good reason to believe that many copies of each book printed by the Cambridge Press were sent to England. Furthermore, it would have been most unlikely that a ship would have been leaving for England as late as two weeks or so after the 19th of October; the last ship of the year to England usually sailed before the end of September in order to avoid the winter storms.

7. Daye and Green used this list as the basis

for a joint affidavit they rendered to the Middlesex County Court at Cambridge, in a suit brought in 1656 by John Glover, eldest son and heir of the Reverend Jose Glover (who had died at sea in 1638 while bringing the first press to Cambridge), against his step-father, Henry Dunster, first President of Harvard, who had received the profits of the Press until he resigned as President in 1654. The list is in two parts on one sheet, one part compiled by Daye and the other by Green.

8. George Parker Winship, "A Document Concerning the First Anglo-American Press," *The Library*, 4th ser., xx (1940), 51-70, transcribed the document and also printed a facsimile. The original is now among the Dunster mss. in the Harvard University Archives.

Sinod booke. he [Dunster] had of Bro: Green finding papr. for ye impression abate for paper. 6 Rheame $\frac{1}{4}$	12:00:00
	02:05:00
Rest. -09.15.00	09:15:00

At the end of Green's part of the list, the £9 15s was added in as Dunster's profit. For the impression the latter supplied paper which Green appraised as worth £2 5s. Apparently Green did the printing, sold the copies to one or more booksellers,⁹ took out enough money to pay himself for his labor,¹⁰ then delivered the rest, £12, to Dunster. This procedure differed from that in effect both before and after the printing of the *Platform*; for every other book listed by Daye and Green, the printer was credited with a specified sum as his payment.

Since the *Platform* is a book of five and one-half sheets, the six and one-quarter reams of paper would have been sufficient for an edition of 568, which probably may be reduced to about 550 copies because of waste and imperfect sheets.¹¹

The title-page of the *Platform*, which exists in two states, is overcrowded, as in most books printed by the Cambridge Press. It contains twenty-two lines of type (compared with thirty-eight in the text) and gives not only the title and imprint but also the circumstances of the book's preparation and three scriptural quotations. The following transcript is made of the title in its corrected state *II*.

[within a frame of acorn and fleuron type-orn.] *A | PLATFORM OF | CHURCH DISCIPLINE | GATHERED*

9. Only one bookseller is known to have been active in Boston at this time, Hezekiah Usher, who had sold the *Almanack* for 1647 and the *Book of the General Lawes* (1648). Two years later in 1651, the *Psalmes*, the revised version of the Bay Psalm Book, were sold to three booksellers, including Usher.

10. Three years later, Green charged £9 to print a $7\frac{1}{2}$ -sheet quarto, Richard Mather's

Summe of Certain Sermons (1652). At this rate, he would have charged about £6 10s to print the *Platform*.

11. If the book were printed in an edition of about 550 copies, the books would have been sold to the bookseller for about 8d a copy, or slightly in excess of the penny-a-sheet figure usually charged in England.

*OVT OF THE WORD OF GOD: | AND AGREED UPON
BY THE ELDERS: | AND MESSENGERS OF THE
CHURCHES | ASSEMBLED IN THE SYNOD AT
CAMBRIDGE | IN NEW ENGLAND | To be presented
to the Churches and Generall Court | for their consideration
and acceptance, | in the Lord. | The Eight Moneth Anno
1649 || Psal: 84 1. How amiable are thy Tabernacles O Lord
of Hosts? | Psal: 26. 8. Lord I have loved the habitation of thy
house & the | place where thine honour dwelleth. | Psal: 27.4.
One thing have I desired of the Lord that will I seek | after, that
I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the | dayes of my life to
behold the Beauty of the Lord & to | inquire in his Temple. ||
Printed by S G at Cambridge in New England | and are to be
sold at Cambridge and Boston | Anno Dom: 1649. [Stent:
GATHERED (swash G) *ELDERS:* S G (no periods)]*

Press variants in state I of title] plain italic instead of
swash G in '*GATHERED*', 'Eighth' instead of 'Eight',
'84.' instead of '84' (no period), '*Tabernacle*' instead of
'*Tabernacles*', 'at *Cambridge* by S G' instead of 'by S G at
Cambridge'

The *Platform* collates as follows: 4°, *A⁶ A-D⁴, 22 leaves,
pp. [2]^r 2-10, 1-29 30-32 (*series in sq. bkts. immediately
following hdl.); \$4 (+ *A₅,6) signed (multiple letters indicate
leaf no., as 'Aa' for A₂); *A₄₋₅ missigned 'Aaa', 'Aaaa';
*A₂₋₆ in italic.

The title-page is *A₁ (verso blank). A preface occupies
*A_{2-6v}. The seventeen chapters of the text begin on A₁ and end
on D₃. D_{3v} is blank. On D₄ is a table of contents and a list of
errata. D_{4v} is blank.

The preface has a running-title, 'The Preface.' (*A_{2v-6v});
there are no uniform running-titles for the text, but abbreviated
chapter-titles are used as hds., A_{1v}-D₃. When one chapter ends
and another begins on the same page, the two chapter-titles
are abbreviated and combined as the hdl. for that page.

The type is predominantly roman, with some italic; the text has side-notes in roman referring to the Bible by book, chapter, and verse; (Dr) 38 ll. 155(164) x 98(114) mm., 82R. The same type had been first used by the Cambridge Press in 1645 for printing John Winthrop's *A Declaration of Former Passages and Proceedings Betwixt the English and the Narragansets*.

Catchwords were used, but in a manner which emphasized the inexperience of the printer. They were seldom set over to the page margin, and there was little or no effort to make catchword capitalization agree with the first word on the succeeding page. Whenever syllables were used as catchwords, the compositor omitted the usual hyphen.

I have examined seven of the nine extant copies, as follows: *University of Virginia*, 175 x 130; *New York Public Library* (lacks D4), 181 x 132; *Congregational Library*, 171 x 127; *American Antiquarian Society*, 180 x 138; *Huntington* (microfilm); *William Clements* (microfilm); *John Carter Brown* (title has been cut out close to frame and mounted for binding), 177 x 131. In addition, I have received a detailed report on an eighth copy: *Thomas W. Streeter*, 178 x 132. There is a ninth copy in a private library which I have not seen.¹²

Of the eight copies upon which this study is based, two have an imprint which reads:

[I]

Printed at Cambridge by S G in New England | and are to
be sold at Cambridge and Boston | Anno Dom: 1649.

In the other six copies, the first line of the imprint has been altered:¹³

12. Winship's *Preliminary Check List of Cambridge, Massachusetts Imprints, 1638-1692* (Boston, 1939), p. 4, lists nine extant copies of the *Platform*, but it omits the copy in the John H. Scheide Library and erroneously includes one in the Boston Public Library.

13. Winship has confused the two imprints in his *Cambridge Press*, p. 113. He lists II as found only in the copy in the John Carter Brown Library and another copy in a private library. Actually II is found in the six copies I have seen other than those in the library of

[II]

Printed by S G at Cambridge in New England | and are to
be sold at Cambridge and Boston | Anno Dom: 1649.

There is good evidence for reversing the order of imprints favored by Winship, who believes that imprint *II* was first through the press.¹⁴ Associated with imprint *I* is an error in a scriptural quotation: in the quotation from the 84th Psalm, '*How amiable are thy Tabernacles O Lord of Hosts?*', the final 's' in 'Tabernacles' is lacking in the Brown and Streeter copies, which have imprint *I*. This quotation is found in a correct state in all copies which have imprint *II*, thus suggesting that the correction and the change of imprint were made at the same time. An examination of the seventh word in the third line of "A6v, which is in the same forme as the title-page, provides additional evidence. In the Brown and Streeter copies, with imprint *I*, the word is printed incorrectly as 'im', but in all copies with imprint *II* the word has been press-corrected to 'in'. From this previously unrecorded evidence, I conclude that the letter was changed when the forme was unlocked to alter imprint *I* to imprint *II*. Although I believe that these two instances are sufficient to prove the priority of imprint *I*, I feel bound to mention that the two states of the title-page are characterized by three other differences. With imprint *I* are found 'Eighth moneth' instead of 'Eight moneth', '84.' instead of '84' (no period), and a swash 'G' in 'GATHERED' instead of a plain italic 'G'. The presence or absence of the swash 'G' is not substantively significant, but the other two differences are manifestly more correct in state *I* of the title-page than in state *II*. Since there is no question of textual alteration connected with them, I would contend that the 'h' in 'Eighth' and the period after '84.' were pulled out when the

Mr. Thomas W. Streeter and in the John Carter Brown Library, which exhibit state *I*. I have not been able to examine the Scheide copy. In his earlier *Check List*, p. 4, Winship also con-

fused the description of this book by listing *II* as found only in the Huntington copy and *I* in all others.

14. *Cambridge Press*, p. 113.

loosened forme was inked after it had been unlocked to change imprint *I* to imprint *II* and to correct the misprint in the scriptural quotation.¹⁴ On the contrary, there is no space for an 's' in 'Tabernacle' when the letter is missing, which suggests that the letter was not pulled out in inking but was instead added as a result of press-correction.

There is some additional, though inconclusive, evidence that imprint *I* was actually first through the press. The separation of town and region in *I* is awkward. Winship maintains that an imprint would usually begin with the place, which is one of his reasons for regarding imprint *I* as a revised version.¹⁵ If this reason were valid, one would expect to find Green henceforth setting his imprints with the place first. For the next seven years, however, he invariably set his name first and the place second. Only when, eleven years later, he became associated with Marmaduke Johnson, an experienced London printer, did Green habitually adopt the more conventional sequence in his imprints.¹⁶

^{14a.} The evidence of the Streeter copy of imprint *I*, in which no period exists after '84' contrasts with the printing of a period in the John Carter Brown imprint *I* copy to demonstrate the correctness of Dr. Starkey's hypothesis that these particular variants were caused by pulled types during the course of the printing. Clearly, the forme in the Streeter copy of imprint *I* which preserves the 'h' in 'Eighth' but has lost the period after '84' was later through the press than the forme in the John Carter Brown copy of imprint *I*, which contains the period as well as the 'h'. The Streeter sheet, therefore, serves as a bridge to copies with imprint *II*, in which the 'h' has also been pulled. The only modification necessary in the argument is the fact that the type began to loosen earlier than Dr. Starkey originally inferred. In other respects the Streeter title is identical with that of the Brown copy: a plain italic 'G' is found in 'GATHERED', and no 's' appears after 'Tabernacle'. *Editor.*

^{15.} Winship advances the theory (*Cambridge Press*, p. 113) that someone called Green's

attention to a deviation from standard printing practice, (*i.e.* his failure to put the place first in the imprint) while the forme was still on the press, and that the press was stopped to allow a revision to the more customary form of the imprint. Actually the change would have been to a form of imprint which Green never used, *i.e.* placing his name between the town and region. In my opinion, a more likely explanation is that Green saw for himself, or had called to his attention, the extreme awkwardness of imprint *I* and stopped his press to revise it to imprint *II*, which, from then on, remained the form of imprint he used most frequently as long as he was printing unassisted.

^{16.} That English printers usually placed the city first in their imprints is undeniable. Nevertheless, the conventional seventeenth-century English imprint: 'London. Printed by . . .', is not really a parallel to imprint *I*. Both states of the imprint in the *Platform* are deviations from normal London imprint phraseology. From 1656 to 1660 Green used

Winship's other argument for the priority of imprint *II* is that it is found in the same copies as a misprint on *A6 recto, whereas imprint *I* appears in a copy where the misprint has been corrected. He points out that the leaf with the misprint is "the leaf that is joined to that of the title whether the half-sheet of this fold [*i.e.*, gathering] was folded outside or inside the other four leaves."¹⁷ Actually, this argument would have no bibliographical validity whatsoever for the second of Winship's postulates: if the half-sheet in the quarto (6's) gathering is the inmost fold and the first, second, fifth, and sixth leaves constitute the full sheet, the title on *A1^r cannot be in the same forme as the misprint on *A6^r, and thus no connection can exist between them. On the other hand, if it is possible to demonstrate what Winship felt was 'futile to guess,' that is, that the half-sheet is the outermost fold *A1.6, then since all four type-pages of the two leaves could have been imposed in the same forme—provided the fold were printed by half-sheet imposition,—any argument based on a relation between the misprint and the title must be scrutinized carefully. The problem, therefore, must be attacked from two points of enquiry: (1) which fold in the six-leaf preliminary gathering was printed as a half-sheet; and (2) if this fold was *A1.6, was it printed by half-sheet imposition (the only method which could bring the type-pages for *A1^r and *A6^r together in the same forme) or in some other manner which would separate them by formes.

(1) Following the title-leaf, the first gathering of the *Platform* continues with a ten-page preface, the whole quarto gathering being composed of six leaves and thus necessitating the first use of a half-sheet by a Cambridge printer. This poses to the bibliographer the nice problem whether Green quired the half-sheet within the folded full sheet as would have been

the conventional English imprint four times and at the same time used in other books the form of imprint *II*; he is not known ever to

have used the form of imprint *I* except in the *Platform*.

17. *Cambridge Press*, p. 113.

normal printing practice, or whether he printed the title on it and wrapped it around the full sheet. Although the problem has been thought insoluble,¹⁸ watermarks conveniently provide the answer. By good fortune in the copy held by the American Antiquarian Society (the other copies are ambiguous^{18a}), the watermarks link *A1 with *A6, and *A2 with *A5. Thus *A3.4, the inner fold, cannot be the half-sheet, for that would mean that each of the quarto leaves of a full sheet *A1.2.5.6 would have a watermark: an impossibility. The only conclusion is that *A1.6, the fold containing the title-page and the end of the preface, must be the half-sheet.

(2) Having established that the outer fold is the half-sheet, we may now turn to the question of its printing, for a bibliographical connection can exist between *A1^r and *A6^r only if the fold were printed by half-sheet imposition, that is, by placing all type-pages in one forme, with printing and perfecting of a full sheet being made from this forme and the halves of the full sheet subsequently being cut apart to furnish two identical copies of the half-sheet. First, however, it is necessary to examine what are the actual facts of coincidence between this *A6^r misprint and its correction¹⁹ in relation to the two states of the title. Winship's facts are in error here, for the misprint on *A6^r is not, as he states, corrected in copies with imprint I though uncorrected in all copies with imprint II. Instead, this misprint appears in one of the preserved copies with imprint I (John Carter Brown) and is also found in two copies with imprint II (University of Virginia and Huntington) although

^{18.} Winship (*Cambridge Press*, p. 114) wrote: "Opinions differ whether a make-up man with or without experience would be more likely to put the title or the inside four pages on a half-sheet, and with other evidence showing that the printer of this tract was unfamiliar with routine practice, it is futile to guess."

^{18a.} This remark may now be supplemented. The single watermark in the Streeter copy is divided between the third and fourth leaves, a position which also demonstrates the case.

Dr. Starkey has, in addition, received information that the two watermarks in the New York Public Library copy conform in position to those in the copy held by the Antiquarian Society. *Editor.*

^{19.} The misprint is 'conribute', corrected to 'contribute'. Winship lists the error as 'conrilute' only partially corrected to 'contribute'. None of the eight copies examined agrees with this description.

corrected in the other four copies with imprint *II* which I have examined and also in the Streeter copy with imprint *I*. This evidence puts a quite different complexion on the problem, for it demonstrates (a) the misprint was not corrected at the same time as the alteration in the title; (b) imprint *I* must have been first through the press. Determination of the precise method of printing thus becomes doubly necessary if we are to untangle the proper explanation for these facts.

Had *A₁.6 been printed by half-sheet imposition, the type-pages must necessarily have been imposed in a single forme in the following relation to each other:

*A ₆ ^r	*A ₆ ^v
*A ₁ ^v [blank]	*A ₁ ^r [title]

If we begin normal printing from this forme and lay each successive piece of paper, printed on one side only, on a pile, we should start with imprint *I* of the title, the misprint on *A₆^r, and the misprint on *A₆^v. The series of sheets printed with this state of the type we may call series X. As the second step in the printing, the press is stopped, the title is altered to imprint *II*, and coincidentally the misprint on *A₆^v is corrected. A second series of sheets, series Y, is thereupon printed on one side only with these characteristics and laid on top of series X in the gradually mounting heap of wrought-off sheets. Somewhat later the misprint on *A₆^r is detected, and the press is stopped to make this correction.¹⁹² The remaining sheets, series Z, are thereupon printed and laid on the pile in order.

192. Dr. Starkey observes that the precise relationship in point of time of this correction in 6 recto to the correction of the misprint 'im' on 6 verso and the alteration of the imprint is not certain, but that the suggested order gives a proportion of copies roughly

approximating those which are preserved in each state. If, on the other hand, the misprint on 6 recto had been observed and corrected before the imprint alteration, no other states would have been produced but only more of the Streeter and fewer of the Virginia-

To complete the process this whole pile is turned over so that series X is on top, and perfecting is executed, all three series being perfected by the forme in state Z. When this operation is followed, and the full sheets cut in half to give us the "A1.6 folds, we observe that we have secured a proportion of states which closely approximates those in the extant copies. The largest number of half-sheets contains imprint II and the corrected readings on "A6^r and "A6^v. A smaller number gives us the state of the Virginia and Huntington copies, with imprint II, "A6^v corrected, but "A6^r uncorrected. Finally, we have the smallest group, containing imprint I, "A6^r uncorrected, but "A6^v *corrected*—that is, the Streeter copy. It is clear, therefore, that if printing proceeded by half-sheet imposition as outlined above, no copy could be produced which would correspond with the John Carter Brown copy with imprint I, although in all other respects we have variants corresponding with the other known copies and in approximately the correct proportions.

There is, however, another alternative.²⁰ If the correction of the misprint in "A6^r did not take place during the printing of the white-paper but instead was performed during the operation of perfecting, then if all of series X and a certain number of series Y (there would be no series Z of white-paper) had been perfected with the forme in the Y state and the press were stopped to correct "A6^r (constituting state Z) during the early perfecting of the Y sheets, we should indeed have copies produced which agree exclusively with the John Carter Brown exemplum and the two known states of imprint II, but none at all of the state represented by the Streeter copy with imprint I.

For these reasons, it is necessary to enquire whether another

Huntington states would have resulted. The point is an academic one, however, since half-sheet imposition proves to be an impossibility. *Editor.*

20. Actually, there is still another, consisting

of the immediate perfecting of each sheet the moment after it had been printed. No parallel is known to such a procedure since the problem of offset would be insuperable, and hence it may be dismissed as an impossibility without further consideration.

method of printing might not have been adopted which would produce copies in the states observed and in proportion to their preservation. This method is to be found in printing by cut sheets. According to this rather elementary procedure, familiar in the earliest days of printing, the full sheets were cut in half before any were printed, and thereupon each half-sheet was treated as a separate sheet, being printed from one forme and perfected from a different forme (inner and outer).

If this method were employed for the half-sheet in the *Platform*, the inner and outer formes would each have been made up from only two type-pages, as follows:

Inner	Outer
A6	*A6*
A1	*A1*

Whether the inner or the outer forme was first through the press is undeterminable and here of no consequence, since under any circumstances uncorrected printed white-paper is perfected by an uncorrected forme at the start and the overlap—as represented by the Virginia and Huntington copies—occurs according to the unequal proportion of each machined as a separate operation.

Although printing by cut sheets is a primitive method as compared with half-sheet imposition, there is every indication from his work that Green was not a sophisticated workman and that he may well have prided himself on successfully solving the problem he faced, especially if—as likely—he had never been instructed in the technique of half-sheet imposition. If we believe that *A1.6 was indeed printed by cut sheets, we are enabled to explain without difficulty the particular proportion of extant copies in each state, a matter impossible to explain by any theory of half-sheet imposition. Moreover, the difference

in time between the correction of misprints on "A6" and "A6v" is more readily accounted for if they are in different formes than if we must assume in half-sheet imposition that two separate correction operations were made in the same forme. By cut-sheet printing only a relatively few copies of the inner forme need have been printed before the correction on "A6" was effected, and, indeed, this is the direct import of the evidence of the Streeter copy.

The central bibliographical fact with which we are concerned is clear. Printing was by cut sheets; moreover, imprint I must have been first through the press, and the alteration of this state to the form of imprint II has no causal connection with the correction of the misprint on "A6" as has been asserted. The two type-pages were in different formes, and hence alterations to these pages are from a bibliographical point of view completely independent even though the leaves are conjoined.

Commencing with "A2, and continuing with the subsequent gatherings in 4's, the recto of every leaf in the *Platform* bears a signature, instead of the two, or at most three, leaves customarily signed in a quarto gathering, all that are necessary for a binder. Green seems to have devised his own method of signing, using letters exclusively. The rectos of each gathering were signed with a combination of capital and lower case letters, for example: B, Bb, Bbb, Bbbb. The letter of the alphabet denoted the gathering, the number of letters, including the capital, the leaf. In the four gatherings of the text of the *Platform*, this system is worked out perfectly; but in the preface, printed last of all, there is some confusion, doubtless because of the quiring of the "A gathering as a quarto in 6's. The rectos of the preliminary gathering are signed in succession after the title page: Aa, Aaa, Aaa, Aaaa, Aa5. The last leaf, signed Aa5, was, of course, "A6; apparently Aa5 was intended as an abbreviation for Aaaaaa, i.e. capital A and five lower-case a's. The fourth and

fifth leaves of the gathering were incorrectly signed Aaa and Aaaa. The error was natural, for Green had only to forget for a moment that he was later to have a half-sheet; the two leaves in question would be correctly signed as the last two leaves of a quarto gathering like the others in the same book. Green abandoned this system of signing after printing the *Platform*, and similar signatures are never again found in the books printed by the Cambridge Press.

The list of nine errata found on D₄^r (of the inner forme) is unable, because of its position, to correct any errors on D₁^v, D₂^r (D₃^v is blank), or in the table of contents on the errata leaf itself, where two chapters are listed as beginning on the wrong pages.²¹ That an erratum is listed for D₁^r proves that the outer forme of the D gathering was first through the press. Since the list of errata corrects none of the several errors in the preface, either, we may readily assume that the *A⁶ was printed last, as would be expected. The designation of the errata as '*faults escaped in some of the books thus amended*' seems to indicate that corrections had been made in the text by stopping the press, and that one might expect to find the correct readings in some copies. A collation of eight of the nine extant copies, however, discloses that none of the errata was corrected. Because we have less than two per cent of the edition, it is impossible to tell whether corrections were actually made or whether Green was trying consciously to give the impression that he was a much more careful printer than actually he was. We know that later, while printing the preface, he did stop his press to correct errors in the half-sheet. He seems, however, to have paid no attention to several errors in the full sheet (*A₂₋₅) of the preface, including one that was particularly noticeable: the misspelling of 'Preface' as 'Prefae' in the headline on *A₄^r.

21. Chapters xvi and xvii are listed as beginning on pp. 27 and 28; actually they begin on pp. 26 and 27.

Fees Paid to Authors by Certain American Periodicals, 1840-1850

J. ALBERT ROBBINS

A RELATIVELY NEW FIELD NOW BEING DEVELOPED by American literary scholars is the economic aspects of authorship.¹ Not until the 1830's and 1840's did magazine publishers offer adequate payment to authors, but even so, the rates were flexible and the pay often uncertain or delayed. The factors, obviously, were the needs of the publisher and the reputation of the writer. In many cases the rate of payment was arrived at by a haggling between buyer and seller. Moreover, not all of the established periodicals could afford adequate payment. In 1838 the Baltimore *American Museum* had a standard rate of \$2 for poetry and \$1.50 per page for prose.² The *Southern Literary Messenger* in 1840 could offer Griswold only \$1.50 or \$2 per page, and this sum only at some future time.³ The *North American Review* had a standard rate of only \$1 per printed page and Edwin P. Whipple later wrote that in 1845 "some of us who wrote for it at a dollar a page were wont to call it the Mount Auburn of literature,

1. A complete study of this phase of American literary history will eventually give us a fuller knowledge of the pressure of financial needs and the financial rewards of literary success. Such studies of literary popularity as Frank Luther Mott's *Golden Multitudes* are a step in this direction. An extended study is soon to be published by Professor William Charvat of Ohio State University. His book will be the

first concentrated attack upon the general problem.

2. Nathan C. Brooks to James Montgomery Bird, December 3, 1838; MS letter in the University of Pennsylvania Library.

3. Thomas W. White to Rufus W. Griswold, June 9, 1840; MS letter in Boston Public Library.

affording a most beautiful mausoleum wherein an article could be buried."⁴

It is no cause for wonder that many authors were hard pressed to make a livelihood from their writings. Poe was continually in want of funds. Lowell hoped to earn from his writings only \$400 during 1843.⁵ In 1842 Longfellow earned \$517 from his pen—\$315 coming from magazine writings and only \$202 from his published volumes.⁶ The "popular" writers, however, were often besting the literary geniuses of the day. Henry William Herbert, who was hardly more than a literary hack, averaged from three to four thousand dollars a year translating French novels for the cheap novel trade,⁷ and N. P. Willis's extensive popularity brought him great sums. In 1840, Longfellow wrote, "Nat Willis . . . says he has made ten thousand dollars the last year by his writings. I wish I had made ten hundred."⁸

George R. Graham's policy of liberal payment and Louis A. Godey's attempt to meet this competition altered the scale of magazine payment drastically. Willis, one of the many who

4. Edwin P. Whipple, *Recollections of Eminent Men, with Other Papers* (Boston, 1893), p. 166.

For purposes of comparison it is interesting to note that the young William Dean Howells in 1858 was planning a contribution to the *Odd Fellows' Literary Casket*. "The Casket pays \$2.00 a page," Howells wrote Miss Victoria M. Howells, December 26, 1858 (*Life in Letters of William Dean Howells*, ed. by Mildred Howells, New York, 1928, I, 16-17). At this early date Howells had published nothing in book form.

5. Lowell to George B. Loring, September 20, 1842; MS letter in Harvard College Library.

6. These figures are from Longfellow's manuscript account book in the Longfellow House, Cambridge, Mass. Of the \$315, \$15 came from the *Token*, an annual; \$20 from the *Ladies' Companion* (New York); and \$270 from *Graham's Magazine*.

7. Luke M. White, Jr., *Henry William Herbert*

or the American Publishing Scene, 1831-1858 (Newark, N. J., 1943), p. 34.

8. Longfellow to George W. Greene, May 28, 1840; letter printed in Samuel Longfellow, *The Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston, 1899), I, 367.

A distinctly minor writer, J. H. Mancur, also envied Willis his large earnings. He termed Willis "a monopolist of four magazines." Mancur writes that Robert Hamilton, an associate editor of the *Ladies' Companion*, "some time since, told me Willis drew \$1200 per annum from three periodicals." Willis' writing for *Graham's*, Mancur thinks will raise his income to \$1600. Mancur's small income rankles within him. "Now rating my merit to be as compared with Willis' as 6 is to 12 . . . I find myself continually grumbling that I can only earn . . . at the average rate of \$23 p month, or 276\$ or 280\$ p annum, not the fourth of Willis' earnings." (Mancur to R. W. Griswold, November 28, 1842; MS letter in Boston Public Library.)

benefited, noted that "The burst on author-land of Graham's and Godey's liberal prices was like a sunrise without a dawn."⁹ The situation is well summarized in an article in the *New York Weekly Mirror*, edited by two *Graham's* writers, George P. Morris and N. P. Willis:

There are several of the magazines that pay for articles, but no one of them, we believe, pays for *all* its contents. Graham and Godey, (two men of noble liberality to authors,) pay prices to some of their contributors that would far out-bid the highest rates of magazine payment in England. Their prose-writers receive from two to twelve dollars a page, and their poets from five to fifty dollars an article. . . . All the paying magazines and reviews, however, reject fifty articles to one that they accept, and they pay nobody whose "name" would not enrich their table of contents.¹⁰

The prices paid for magazine contributions roughly corresponded to a writer's general popularity and renown. A brief look at the prices which Graham paid Longfellow, Cooper, Lowell, and Poe will illustrate the process which both writer and publisher followed.

As Longfellow's account book shows and as Professor Charvat has recently pointed out,¹¹ Longfellow in 1840 and 1841 received only \$15 or \$20 per poem from magazines. Park Benjamin, the New York editor and writer, printed Longfellow's "Wreck of the Hesperus" in his *New World*, January 11, 1840. He paid Longfellow \$25 and apparently thought himself liberal in the payment. Graham was determined to buy Longfellow's name for its advertising value, and apparently during 1841 he urged Benjamin to do what he could in the matter.¹² In addition to this, Graham had his editor, Poe, write Longfellow during May, offering *carte blanche* terms. Longfellow

9. Henry A. Beers, *Nathaniel Parker Willis* (Boston, 1885), p. 260.

10. "The Pay for Periodical Writing," *Weekly Mirror*, 1, (October 19, 1844), 28. This article is attributed to Poe by Arthur H. Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe, A Critical Biography* (New York, 1941), p. 436.

11. William Charvat, "Longfellow's Income from his Writings, 1840-1852," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, xxxviii (1944), 9-21.

12. During part of 1841 and until September of 1842 Graham paid Benjamin a regular salary to assist in securing desirable contributors.

declined from press of other duties. Graham then tried a third alternative. In October, Graham wrote Griswold asking for some way of persuading Longfellow to contribute regularly. At this point, Benjamin came through, for he wrote Graham, asking a question to which he knew the answer: "Would you like to have an occasional poem from Professor Longfellow? I think I could get him to write for you at \$20.—He asks \$25." Graham hastened to conclude the bargain, and Longfellow's first poem in *Graham's* appeared in the January, 1842, issue. For it Longfellow received \$20, the same sum paid by the New York *Ladies' Companion* for another of his poems printed the same month.

Longfellow apparently liked the conservative format of *Graham's* and saw a chance for a little regular income from it. At any rate, he wrote Poe late in 1841 about further contributions. Graham answered this letter, offering \$30 for a monthly poem or article, provided he write for no other Philadelphia periodical. Longfellow must have felt \$30 rather low, for early in 1842 Benjamin—still involved in the negotiations—wrote him that Graham had agreed to \$50 "for each article." Later Graham explained that he had in mind \$50 for prose and \$30 for poetry. The latter figure he thought liberal "as I had purchased at \$20"; but he was willing to pay any sum mutually agreeable. Longfellow was firm and for all other contributions Graham paid \$50.¹³

13. These transactions are the subject of the following letters. Poe to Longfellow, May 3, 1841; letter printed in John Ward Ostrom, *Letters of Edgar Allan Poe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), I, 158. Longfellow to Poe, May 19, 1841; letter printed in Samuel Longfellow, *op. cit.*, I, 390-91. Graham to Griswold, October 6, 1841; MS letter in New York Public Library. Benjamin to Graham, October 19, 1841; MS letter in Boston Public Library. Longfellow's letter to Poe is referred to in Graham to Longfellow, December 23, 1841; MS letter in the Longfellow House, Cambridge. This is the Graham to Longfellow

letter mentioned above. Graham to Longfellow, January 7, 1842; MS in the Longfellow House, Cambridge. Benjamin to Longfellow January 7, 1842; MS letter in the Longfellow House. Graham to Longfellow, January 20, 1842; MS letter in the Longfellow House.

Poe figures in this correspondence, for he was editor of *Graham's Magazine* from March, 1841, to April, 1842. Subsequent correspondence from *Graham's* contributors is answered by Rufus W. Griswold, who served as editor from May, 1842, to September, 1843.

For the negotiation of Longfellow's longest contribution to *Graham's Magazine* see Law-

The wily and money-wise Cooper negotiated directly with Graham, and prudently did even this when he happened to be in Philadelphia on other business. It would be interesting indeed to read a stenographic record of their bargaining. Cooper did very well for himself. He sold a very inferior product (*Autobiography of a Pocket-Handerkerchief*) to Graham for \$500. It took up 48 pages, making a per-page rate of \$10.40. Later Graham printed Cooper's biographical sketches of naval commanders, for which he paid \$1000. They ran to 130 printed pages, a per-page rate of \$7.70. Cooper's longest contribution was the *Islets of the Gulf*, running for 17 installments. It took up 188 pages, a per-page rate of \$6.38.¹⁴

Lowell is a convenient illustration of a growing reputation reflected in the rate of magazine payment. In 1842 Graham paid him \$10 per poem. It is likely that he paid \$20 the following year. In 1844, Graham went up to \$25 and \$30, and by 1850 Graham was offering Lowell \$40 for his "very best" poems and would have paid fifty, but for business troubles.

A letter which Graham wrote Longfellow in 1844 indicates Graham's opinion of Lowell's market-value at the time and presents a picture of the problems of a magazine publisher.

In regard to Lowell, I told Mr. Peterson to write to him last week, and to offer him \$25 per poem. I have already engaged exclusively Bryant, Paulding, Cooper & I hope your self for "Graham" with a host of lesser lights, and the truth is I cannot go beyond a certain mark in general expenses. Lowell's reputation is not as wide-spread as yours or Bryant's, and his poems—to me—are not worth as much. He wrote me some time ago that Godey had offered to take his poems, at the same price I paid, but I feel assured that Mr. Godey will not give him 25 per month for one year, although he may take a *single* one for the sake of getting his *name*.¹⁵

rance R. Thompson, "Longfellow Sells *The Spanish Student*," *American Literature*, vi (May, 1934), 141-150.

14. These long contributions generally brought a lower per-page rate than short articles. Graham paid Bryant and Dana and

N. P. Willis \$50 for single prose contributions. One of Willis's, which ran to 4½ pages, figures out at a per-page rate of \$11.11.

15. Graham to Longfellow, May 20, 1844; MS letter in the Longfellow House, Cambridge.

In addition to his income as editor, Poe received \$4 per printed page from Graham. Poe's income from magazine contributions seldom exceeded five dollars per page. During his lifetime Poe was not universally popular as a writer and he had antagonized innumerable fellow craftsmen and editors. Actually, Graham paid Poe what his reputation was then worth.

The "lesser lights," as Graham called them, frequently commanded quite respectable prices for their contributions. The only periodical writer in this period for which I have found a complete account book is Mrs. Emma C. Embury, an amateur female writer and wife of a wealthy Brooklyn banker. Graham paid her as high as \$40 per prose tale, and her rate per page ran as high as \$7.30. For 133 contributions of prose and poetry between 1837 and 1849, she received \$3100, quite a respectable sum for one of the "damned scribbling women" that Hawthorne scorned.¹⁶

For many of the periodical contributors only scattered facts are available. In some cases the figures mentioned are haggling-prices. Yet all data are useful to a student of the economics of authorship.

In 1841 Park Benjamin received \$10 from Graham for two sonnets.¹⁷ In 1842 Henry T. Tuckerman asked Griswold (then editor of *Graham's*) only for "whatever remuneration you can afford for my last contribution."¹⁸ During this year Evert A. Duyckinck attempted to sell a minor writer, William A. Jones, to *Graham's*. Griswold explained that Mr. Graham offered only \$2 a page to minors, reserving high pay for the "'stars' in his

16. For details see the present writer's "Mrs. Emma C. Embury's Account Book, A Study of Some of her Periodical Contributions," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, LI (August, 1947), 479-85.

17. Benjamin to Graham, October 26, 1841; MS letter in Boston Public Library. These were probably the two sonnets of Ben-

jamin which were printed in the January, 1842, issue of *Graham's Magazine*.

18. Tuckerman to Griswold, October 11, 1842; MS letter in Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Yet, by 1850, Tuckerman was receiving \$30 for two articles (Tuckerman to Graham, December 14, 1850; MS letter in Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

stock company."¹⁹ For prose articles in *Godey's Lady's Book* Seba Smith was receiving \$5 per page.²⁰ Graham paid Epes Sargent, the New York editor and publisher, \$20 for a four-page article.²¹ In August, 1842, Albert B. Street, a poetically-minded New York lawyer, offered Graham an 875-line narrative poem for \$60.²² The poem was not accepted. The prolific Henry William Herbert received a \$5 per page rate for prose printed in *Graham's*. For a story, "The Sisters," printed in three installments in 1842, he felt his payment too low. He returned the draft and asked \$100 for the piece.²³ The following year Herbert found himself in need of "a little ready money" and offered Graham twelve tales of about eight pages each for \$200 cash, at considerable loss. "The price of these tales," he wrote, "would be at the rate M^s G. pays me now \$500 & I am willing to sacrifice \$300 for the present accomodation."²⁴ Early in 1843 James Kirke Paulding, a collaborator of Washington Irving and a writer of considerable prominence, wrote Griswold that "I don't like Mr. Cooper's agreement with you, and though having expressed myself willing to be placed on the same footing with him, I am bound to stand to my word, yet I would much prefer the original terms proposed, namely:—ten dollars a page for all contributions, within the compass of five pages, or not exceeding it, and five dollars a page for all over that number."²⁵ Still another of Graham's contributors was jealous of Cooper's high payment. In the same year Thomas C. Grattan,

19. Griswold to E. A. Duyckinck, June 24, 1842; MS letter in New York Public Library.

20. Mary Alice Wyman, *Two American Pioneers: Seba Smith and Elizabeth Oakes Smith* (New York, 1927), p. 122.

21. Sargent to Graham, June 7, 1842; MS letter in Boston Public Library.

22. Street to Griswold, August 8, 1842; MS letter in Boston Public Library. The poem was probably "The Burning of Schenectady." It appeared in book form late in 1842.

23. Herbert to Griswold, April 19, 1842; MS letter in Boston Public Library. The story ran to 21 printed pages. At \$100, the per-page rate would have been about \$4.75.

24. Herbert to Griswold, June 19, 1843; MS letter in Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Herbert was thus willing to accept about \$2.10 per page.

25. Paulding to Griswold, January 31, 1843; letter printed in *Passages from the Correspondence of . . . Rufus W. Griswold* (Cambridge, Mass., 1898), p. 335.

the British consul at Boston, wrote, accepting Graham's offer of \$5 per printed page, "the more so as you tell me M^r. Cooper is satisfied with the same."²⁶ Either Graham or Griswold was guilty of misleading Mr. Grattan on this point.

Mrs. Frances Sargent Osgood was one of the period's prominent women contributors. Graham wrote to her in 1843, asking for monthly contributions at \$25 per story and \$10 per poem.²⁷ The following year, Charles J. Peterson, the publisher of Peterson's *Ladies' National Magazine*, stated that his rate of pay to women writers was \$2 per printed page for prose and \$5 per poem. "This is, perhaps, no remuneration for them, but it is all the publishers here, excepting Graham, give, and all we can afford." He accurately estimated the market-value when he stated that "you & Mrs [Ann S.] Stephens . . . are above all rule."²⁸ By 1848, Mrs. Osgood was asking \$1 for every four lines of poetry and \$10 per page for prose.²⁹

In 1844, just before his European trip, Bayard Taylor raised some of his expense money by contracting with the *Saturday Evening Post* and the *United States Gazette* for a series of travel letters. To enlarge his fund he looked up Graham and left a number of poems with him, and later Graham wrote, offering \$30 for the lot.³⁰

The famous "Ik. Marvel" wrote a friend that he didn't "like the idea of writing for such a magazine" as *Graham's*, but he found the pay "too tempting." Graham paid him \$4 per page.³¹

26. Grattan to Griswold, June 6, 1843; MS letter in Boston Public Library.

27. Graham to Osgood, January 8, 1843; MS letter in Boston Public Library.

28. Peterson to Mrs. Osgood, April 10, 1844; MS in Boston Public Library.

29. Mrs. Osgood to John Sartain, December 5, 1848; MS in Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Sartain became the publisher of the *Union Magazine* in 1849. He was probably lining up his contributors, prior to assuming control of the magazine.

30. Graham to Taylor, June 7, 1844; MS in Cornell University Library. Graham had printed one poem of Taylor's in June, 1843. The poems mentioned in the letter were probably the two printed August and October, 1844, for subsequent poems reflect his European travels. If so, \$15 per poem was a good rate of pay for Taylor, who as yet had not achieved high popularity.

31. Donald Grant Mitchell to Mrs. Mary Perkins Goddard, January 17, 1848; letter printed in Waldo H. Dunn, *Life of Donald G. Mitchell* (New York, 1922), p. 181.

The total cost to a publisher such as Graham for literary matter in a single issue is impossible to calculate from the incomplete data available. The highest price he paid any author per monthly issue for his name-value was Cooper. The amount was \$125.³² In a letter written in 1850, Graham claimed that he had paid up to \$1085 for the literary matter in a single issue.³³ Three years later he claimed to have spent as high as \$1500 per single issue "for authorship alone."³⁴ In 1852 he boasted that he had paid "over \$80,000 to American writers alone" during the first ten years of publication.³⁵

When one attempts to compare the high prices paid by Godey and Graham with those prices of a later day, he finds it difficult to reduce all the factors to a common level. Certainly, late in the nineteenth century, magazine publishing became big business, with circulations running into the hundreds of thousands. The prices paid to authors did increase, but the living cost also increased. *Putnam's Magazine* averaged about \$7 per page. The better class of literary periodical in the 1870's paid a standard price of \$10 a page.³⁶ Professor Mott has attempted a comparison. Considering differences in money values, *Graham's* paid a price corresponding to \$13 per *Putnam* page. However, the cost of living had tripled, and to equal

32. This was the monthly cost to Graham of Cooper's *Autobiography of a Pocket-Handkerchief*.

33. Graham to Bayard Taylor, December 2, 1850; MS letter in Cornell University Library. In this letter, Graham told Taylor that he had spent "\$4000 for the engraving-printing and coloring of Jan'y plates." The cost of the January issue would have been heaviest, for Graham always tried to "spread" himself at the beginning of the year, when most subscriptions were renewed.

34. Moreover, Graham claimed, the minimum rate for contributions per issue for years had been \$800.—Editorial item, *Graham's Magazine*, XLIII (November, 1853), 554.

35. Editorial item, *Graham's Magazine*, XLII

(November, 1852), 556. By the following February, this figure had risen to \$87,000 (XLII, 222). I have no doubt that Graham is exaggerating. Yet, a cost of only \$500 per issue for the first ten years of publication would total \$60,000.

Graham's competitor, Godey, made an even more absurd exaggeration (*Godey's Lady's Book*, XI, [February, 1850], 88). He claimed to have spent \$200,000 for contributions. The *Lady's Book* was then in its twentieth year, and Godey was claiming to have spent an average of \$10,000 per year, an utterly absurd claim, considering the type of writers he printed and his general rate of payment.

36. Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930-1938), III, 14.

Graham's, Putnam's should have paid about \$40 per page to meet Graham's payment in 1842.³⁷

It is illogical to attempt to compare Graham's prices in 1848 with the *Saturday Evening Post's* prices in 1949. Today the large-circulation magazines can afford \$10,000 and more for single articles or stories by world-renowned figures. But for such magazines as the *Atlantic* and *Harper's*, the standard rate is around \$200 to \$250 per article. Against such a pay scale—if one considers cost of living changes—Graham's payments compare favorably indeed. For poetry, Graham paid as much as \$50. The best American poets today receive about \$200 per poem. Here, again, the comparison is favorable.

The 1840's marked a turn in the history of periodical literature. Literary magazines began to reach a large audience. The quality of the literary contents improved. Prices for literary matter increased noticeably and, in some respects, are comparable with current rates. As a result of competition, the principle of literary name-value was established. The top periodicals became national magazines, drawing upon the writing talent of all sections of the country. These changes worked to the advantage of American authors, yet during the 1840's and 1850's no author of first magnitude could earn an adequate livelihood from periodicals alone. By the 1870's and 1880's his prospects were no better. Contributing to magazines could afford a convenient supplement to one's income, but as a sole source of income it was obviously insufficient.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Melville and The Shakers

MERTON M. SEALTS, JR.

TO STUDENTS OF HERMAN MELVILLE THE year 1850, when *Moby-Dick* was taking form, is of especial interest. The book was in progress soon after Melville's return to New York from Europe early in the year, and work on it continued at Pittsfield, where he spent the summer and located on his newly-purchased farm in the autumn. Although he was no stranger to the Berkshires, having lived nearly a year there with his late uncle, Thomas Melvill, and taught school in the neighborhood during his youth, he seems to have made a deliberate effort in 1850 to renew his familiarity with the New England environment through travel and reading. From July 18 to July 20 he accompanied his cousin Robert Melvill on a Berkshire excursion, and in the same month he was reading several books with New England associations—Dwight's *Travels in New England*,¹ *A History of the County of Berkshire*, Hawthorne's *Mosses from an Old Manse*, and an anonymous work on the "United Society of Believers, Commonly Called Shakers," acquired on a visit to the Shaker settlement at Hancock, Massachusetts, on July 21. Melville's copy of this book, *A Summary View of the Millenial Church*, is now in the Stone Collection in the Alderman Library, the University of Virginia.²

1. Mentioned in Melville's "Hawthorne and His Mosses" (1850) and later used as a source for his "The Apple-Tree Table" (1856).

2. *A Summary View of the Millenial Church, or United Society of Believers, Commonly Called Shakers. Comprising the Rise, Progress and Pra-*

Although Melville introduced a crazed Shaker sailor into *Moby-Dick* as the principal character of the interlude entitled "The Jeroboam's Story" (Chapter LXXI), his knowledge of the Shaker sect has so far passed virtually unnoticed by scholars. In contrast to the extended treatments of Shakers in the writings of Hawthorne and Emerson, only one other allusion by Melville is known: in his journal for 1856, during a visit to Constantinople, he observed that the "convent" of the Dancing Dervishes reminded him of his Berkshire neighbors.³ But from the correspondence of Evert Duyckinck, who visited Melville at Pittsfield early in August of 1850, it is learned that he was interested enough during that summer to return to Hancock with a party of friends on August 7 and also to go to the nearby Shaker settlement at Lebanon, both communities being popular attractions in that day for summer residents and their guests. Another excursion to Lebanon on August 15, as well as one in the following year, is also recorded. It is clear, moreover, that Melville's acquaintance with Shaker beliefs and practices was more than cursory, for in his copy of *A Summary View* passages on 25 of its 384 pages have been checked, underlined, or marked with marginal lines in Melville's characteristic manner, familiar and unmistakable to those who have studied other volumes which were formerly part of his library; and in addition there is a brief annotation in his hand. Most of the marked passages, probably a fair indication of the direction of his interest, occur in the opening sections (Parts I and II), dealing with the history

tical Order of the Society. Together with the General Principles of Their Faith and Testimony. Second edition, revised (Albany, Van Benthuysen, 1848). The book bears the following penciled inscription, in Melville's hand: 'H Melville | Shaker Village (Hancock, Mass.) | July 21st 1850 | Bought of Nathan Holland.' Inside the front cover is a cutting from a sale-catalogue—marked "Pierce & Scopes—12/5/25"—which states that the book was "purchased in the house where he lived in Pittsfield. . . ." The volume was formerly part of the library of the

late Edward L. Stone, of Roanoke, Virginia.

On pp. ii and 358 Melville checked references to two other Shaker tracts: "The Sacred Roll and Book, written by Divine Inspiration" (title underlined by Melville) and an examination of scriptural texts on the resurrection of the body to be found in "Dunlavy's Manifesto, printed at Pleasant Hill, in Kentucky, 1818."

3. *Journal up the Straits, October 11, 1856—May 5, 1857*, ed. by Raymond Weaver (New York, 1935), p. 29.

of the United Society and its distinctive forms of worship and government. The long exposition of Shaker theology and eschatology which constitutes most of the book is virtually unmarked; whether Melville read this portion in its entirety or merely dipped into it here and there cannot be determined from the evidence at hand.

It is not surprising that the Dancing Dervishes reminded Melville in later years of the Shakers, for in *A Summary View* several of the numerous passages on Shaker dancing are marked and one of them is annotated. "Curious," he observed in a penciled note, "that this *dancing* religion should have originated among the French." His reference is to an account in the text of the "remarkable revival" which occurred about 1689 in "Dauphiny and Vivarais" and "excited great attention."

The subjects of this work were wrought upon in a very extraordinary manner, both in body and mind; nor could the violent agitations of their bodies, nor the powerful operations of their spirits, which appeared in the flaming and irresistible [sic] energy of their testimony, be imputed to any thing short of the mighty power of God, with which they were evidently inspired. Persons of both sexes and all ages, were the subjects of these divine inspirations. Men, women, and even little children, were wrought upon in a manner which struck the spectators with wonder and astonishment; and their powerful admonitions and prophetic warnings "were heard and received with reverence and awe."⁴

In Melville, who had been fascinated by the themes of inspiration and prophetic utterance as early as *Mardi* (1849), this element of the Shaker tradition clearly struck a sympathetic chord. As divine truth and power increased among the early Shakers, it is stated,

they were involuntarily led, by the mighty power of God, to go forth and worship in the dance. The apostolic gifts were also renewed in their full power; so that "they spake with new tongues and prophesied [sic]." In

4. *A Summary View*, p. 8. Melville marked this passage with a marginal line, indicating by a cross that his annotation refers to the first and second sentences, and also checked

the italicized phrase. On p. 78 he checked a reference to a religious awakening in America, "*The Kentucky Revival*," which "commenced in the western states" about 1800.

these operations, they were filled with melodious and heavenly songs, especially while under the operation of dancing.⁵

This passage is marked with a marginal line and is also checked.

Except for the emphasis on music and dancing, this same preoccupation with inspired utterance is characteristic of the Shaker sailor in *Moby-Dick*. Gabriel's "powerful admonitions and prophetic warnings," an ominous foreshadowing of the catastrophe to come, are "heard and received with reverence and awe" by his impressionable shipmates, but his testimony is presented to the reader as akin to that of the prophetic Elijah and the crazed negro Pip, in whom inspiration is allied with madness. Gabriel himself is characterized as a man in a "deep, settled, fanatic delirium," once a "great prophet" in the "cracked, secret meetings" of the Shakers. At sea he "announced himself as the archangel Gabriel" and commanded his captain to jump overboard. As for his message, he solemnly warned the Jeroboam's master, as he was later to warn Ahab,

against attacking the White Whale, in case the monster should be seen; in his gibbering insanity, pronouncing the White Whale to be no less a being than the Shaker God incarnated; the Shakers receiving the Bible.⁶

Deluded or not, Gabriel's intuition is perfectly sound in prophesying "special doom to the sacrilegious assailants" of *Moby-Dick*, whether the White Whale is taken as agent or principal, incarnate deity or incarnate devil. For "man's insanity is heaven's sense," as Melville elsewhere remarks of the idiot Pip,⁷ and Ahab's monomaniac quest of vengeance is the true madness.

The marked passages just discussed are those with the great-

5. *Ibid.*, p. 88. Melville also checked three Biblical quotations on dancing, p. 89 (five check-marks), and placed a cross beside the following sentence on p. 91: "In short, have not thefts, robberies and murders, and indeed every species of villainy [sic], been much more excited and encouraged by music than by dancing?" Compare the baleful influence of the

mysterious music of Isabel's guitar in Melville's *Pierre* (1851).

6. *Moby-Dick*, II, 40-43. References to Melville's works are to the Standard Edition (London, 1922-24), 16 vols.

7. *Ibid.*, II, 170.

est relevance to *Moby-Dick* and its single Shaker character, whose presence there can be fairly attributed to Melville's proximity to the Shaker communities and his study of *A Summary View*. There are other features of Shakerism, however, which interested him as well and which bear some relation to his thought and writing. In the historical section of *A Summary View* he marked accounts of various stages in the development of the sect: the formation of a "Society" near Manchester, England, *circa* 1747, the origin of the name "Shakers," the early persecutions of the Society's adherents.⁸ Of particular interest was the story of the celebrated "Mother Ann" Lee, who led a group of Shakers to America in 1774. Melville marked a reference to her as the Society's "spiritual Mother in Christ,"⁹ the "second Eve," considered inferior in spiritual eminence only to Christ Himself; he checked accounts of her initial revelation of 1770 and consequent spiritual rebirth.¹⁰ When "born into the spiritual kingdom," Mother Ann declared,

I was like an infant just brought into the world. They see colors and objects; but they know not what they see; and so it was with me. . . . But before I was twenty-four hours old, I saw, and I knew what I saw.¹¹

Here again is the theme of divine inspiration. Melville made no comment at this point, but one recalls the absolute contrast of his own vision of the spiritual world as reflected in the chapters of *Moby-Dick* on "The Whiteness of the Whale" and "The Try-Works," in the torment of Pierre, and in the forlorn words of the imprisoned Bartleby: "I know where I am."¹² Perhaps Melville's unwilling vacillation between belief and unbelief, remarked upon by Hawthorne, is a clue to his interest

8. *A Summary View*, pp. 10-11.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 16. A footnote adds that according to some writers she "styled herself the *Elect Lady*; but this is a groundless charge: that title was given by her enemies in derision." The italicized words, so printed in both text and note, were also underlined by Melville.

10. *Ibid.*, p. xi.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 14. On p. 18 he also checked a report of how Mother Ann, while imprisoned, was secretly fed by means of a pipe-stem which one of her followers introduced through a key-hole.

12. "Bartleby the Scrivener" (1853), in *Piazza Tales*, p. 62.

in the theme of spiritual revelation and the spiritual certainty of the inspired Shakeress.

Attracted as he was to the story of Mother Ann, Melville was nevertheless openly skeptical of a miraculous deliverance which purportedly occurred during her voyage to America. The captain of her ship, it is related, became so irritated by the Shaker dancing that he considered throwing the company of believers into the sea. God protected them, however, and for their sakes preserved the ship and all on board when a terrific gale loosened a plank and threatened to swamp their vessel. Mother Ann, informing the captain that their ultimate safety had been assured to her by two angels, led the Shakers to assist the crew in manning the pumps. "Shortly after this, a large wave struck the ship with great violence, and the loose plank was instantly closed to its place." Melville, with a sailor's interest, marked the whole account with marginal lines, but after the mention of the wave that closed the leak he placed a revealing question-mark!¹³ The remainder of the historical sketch is matter-of-fact, recounting how the members of the Society, after their safe arrival in America, contracted for land "near Niskeyuna," in the state of New York¹⁴—Melville underlined the name, which in a different spelling is mentioned in *Moby-Dick* with reference to Gabriel's Shaker background—and settled there. "Mother Ann, and a number of the leading characters," were imprisoned for a time in Albany in 1780,¹⁵ but

13. *A Summary View*, p. 20. Insofar as marking of passages reveals, this is the only statement in the book which Melville questioned. He did, however, check a passage on p. 9 concerning false testimony inspired by Satan, and both marked and checked the accompanying footnote: "So it was of old. 'When the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, Satan came also among them.' Job, ii.1." It will be recalled that in *Moby-Dick*, when the mysterious Fedallah appears among the crew of the Pequod, Stubb takes him to be

"the devil in disguise" (n., 55). Melville considers the problem of ambiguous intuitions at length in *Pierre* (1852), and in *The Confidence-Man* (1856) that of deliberately deceitful testimony.

14. *A Summary View*, p. 21 (checked and underlined).

15. *Ibid.*, p. 25 (checked).

were released and permitted to establish additional communities.¹⁶

Toward the equalitarian principles of the Shaker settlements the democratic Melville was probably not unsympathetic, although one infers from his remarks on the "Apostles" in *Pierre* that he was dubious about the practicality of social reformers in general. In *A Summary View* he checked several passages explaining the aims and methods of the Shaker community organization. Among "all the hopeful expectations, labors and desires of mankind, in the present age," one of these declares,

none appear more evident that those which lead to the formation of associations in which all the members can enjoy equal rights and privileges, physical and moral, both of a spiritual and temporal nature, in a united capacity. Many have become fully convinced that this is the ultimate destiny of mankind, and that they can never enjoy that happiness for which their Creator designed them, in any other way than in such united capacity.¹⁷

That the Shaker Society at New-Lebanon has existed there "about sixty years" without failure is cited as proof of the efficacy of its organization and government,¹⁸ which is later described as follows:

As the leading power of the visible Church is vested in the Ministry, as the visible head, so in each separate family of the Society, which is considered as a branch of the Church, the leading power is vested in the Elders, who are considered as the heads of their respective families. And so long as the visible head or leaders of any family conduct themselves in a manner worthy of this trust, it is necessary that they should be obeyed by all the members of the family. Without this obedience there can be no regulation, order nor harmony in the family.¹⁹

16. Melville checked an account on p. 37 of Mother Ann's visit to the community at Shirley, Massachusetts, where she objected to the practice of giving "foolish toys" to children. The words "Foolish toy" are used by Ahab in *Moby-Dick*, II, 274, when he breaks

his quadrant and spurns the guidance of science.

17. *A Summary View*, p. 2 (marginal line).

18. *Ibid.*, p. 3 (checked).

19. *Ibid.*, p. 337 (marginal line).

Melville marked both this and another passage in the same vein:

Now let any candid person examine the causes by which associations . . . so often fail, and he will find that it arises from the partial and selfish relations of husbands, wives and children, and other kindred relations, together with the jealousies and evil surmises naturally arising therefrom.²⁰

The reference is of course to communal organizations, but the passage is reminiscent of the bitterness arising between mother and son, brother and sister, and cousin and cousin in *Pierre*. Perhaps the fact that Melville himself had been living with relatives, even after his marriage, ever since his return from the South Seas in 1844 helps to account for his interest in the concept of the well-governed family.

In view of his own family situation and the seeming ambivalence of his attitude toward the relation between the sexes—particularly in *Pierre*—, one wonders with what motives Melville marked various passages on the Shaker rule of continence, the principle underlying the communal organization of the Society. None of the passages called forth specific comment in the form of annotation, but he did underline the key phrase in a passage stating that Mother Ann

bore an open testimony against the lustful gratifications of the flesh, as the *source and foundation of human corruption*; and testified, in the most plain and pointed manner, that no soul could follow Christ in the regeneration, while living in the works of natural generation, or in any of the gratifications of lust.²¹

Here again one is reminded of the idealistic *Pierre*, and the “terrible self-revelation” that comes upon him when he suddenly realizes the physical basis of his devotion to Isabel.²² According to Mother Ann, physical passion is the root of all evil. She had in her visions

20. *Ibid.*, p. 5 (marginal line).

22. *Pierre*, p. 268.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 16 (checked; italics denote Melville's underlining).

a full and clear view of the mystery of iniquity, of the root and foundation of human depravity, and of the very act of transgression, committed by the first man and first woman in the garden of Eden. Here she saw whence and wherein all mankind were lost from God, and clearly realized the only possible way of recovery.²³

The "only possible way" is of course renunciation of the flesh for a life of celibacy. Since for Melville the Shaker practices were not an acceptable solution of the human problem—in *Pierre* it is implied that there is no solution—, he showed little interest in the detailed theological arguments for the celibate life which are contained in many of the later pages of *A Summary View*. But if he rejected the Shaker "solution," he at the same time agreed with much of the Shaker analysis of the alienation of mankind from God. Within a month after buying *A Summary View* he was writing, in "Hawthorne and His Mosses," of

that Calvinistic sense of Innate Depravity and Original Sin, from whose visitations, in some shape or other, no deeply thinking mind is always and wholly free. For, in certain moods, no man can weigh this world without throwing in something, somehow like Original Sin, to strike the uneven balance.²⁴

With his growing belief in a neutral, impassive cosmos he must have agreed with the thought of a marked passage on the world's disorders and miseries:

these defects are in the depraved nature of man. How then are they to be remedied? It is in vain to suppose that nature can remedy her own defects, and cure the depravity of her children.²⁵

But he did not mark a single passage in the long sections dealing with the Shaker conception of the nature of God and His works, the fall and depravity of man, and the reign of Anti-christ (Parts III, IV, V). Only two pages are marked in the

23. *A Summary View*, p. 15 (double-checked). Cf. Melville's use of the phrase "mystery of iniquity" in *Mardi*, II, 165; *Clarel*, I, 316; *Billy Budd*, p. 47.

24. In *Billy Budd and Other Prose Pieces*, p. 129.

25. *A Summary View*, p. 4 (checked).

discussion of the second manifestation of Christ in the female (Part VI, Chapter IV)²⁶ and one in "The Faith and Principles of the New Creation" (Part VII)—the passage on obedience in families quoted above.²⁷

In summary, Melville's interest in the Shakers as indicated by the pattern of his markings is fairly clear. He checked key incidents in the general story of Shakerism, perhaps in order to qualify himself as a better guide when conducting his visiting New York friends to the Shaker villages, as he did again in the summer of 1851. The character of Mother Ann and the governing principles of the Shaker communities were other topics of interest. But what seemingly attracted him most was the prophetic strain in the Shaker religion, with its association of exalted bodily and mental states. Despite his evident skepticism toward Shaker sanity and the Shaker creed, he apparently agreed with their pessimistic outlook upon this earthly life, and was sympathetic toward their intuitive yearning for a better life to come. In his personal knowledge of the sect and in *A Summary View* lay the material for his characterization of the Shaker Gabriel in one of the most striking and portentous chapters of *Moby-Dick*.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 259: allusions to Miriam, Esther, and Deborah as the Lord's instruments, with Biblical citations (checked); p. 263, a passage on the spiritual relation of the Second Eve (Mother Ann) to the Second Adam (Christ), marked with four marginal lines. On p. 68 he

had checked and underlined a statement that in large Shaker families the management of temporal concerns is "intrusted to the *deacons* and *deaconesses*" (italics denote underlining).

27. *Ibid.*, p. 337, quoted above, f.n. 19.

A Bibliographical Study of *Parthenissa*

by Roger Boyle Earl of Orrery

C. WILLIAM MILLER

I.

THE EARLIEST PUBLICATION OF THE POPULAR heroic dramatist, Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, is his prose romance *Parthenissa*. Despite its literary barrenness, almost every historian of seventeenth-century English literature has felt obliged to mention the work because it stands as the only serious lengthy imitation in English of the French heroico-historical romances written by Gomberville, La Calprenède, and Scudéry. Some of the bibliographical problems which this English romance presents have, on the other hand, caught the attention of a few scholars, but no one has made a really intensive study of the various editions and issues of the romance as a problem in itself.

The order of publication of certain basic editions of *Parthenissa* is above dispute, and since it is generally agreed upon by William Carew Hazlitt,¹ Arundell Esdaile,² and Donald G.

1. *Bibliographical Collections and Notes on Early English Literature, 1474-1700*, 3rd ser., iii (1887), 22-23. Hazlitt fails to record the R. Lownes 1654 quarto edition, of which apparently he was unaware.

2. *A List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed Before 1740* (London, 1912), p. 167. Dr. Thomas P. Haviland, 'The Roman de Longus Haleine on English Soil' (Philadelphia, 1931), p. 182, gives a *Parthenissa* bibliography

based on Mr. Esdaile's. Dr. Haviland's statement, however, that item '12635. pp. 26' in the British Museum is an 'edition' which 'Esdaile has apparently overlooked' is inaccurate. That set is Parts I-V of the Herringman 1655-56 publication in quarto which Mr. Esdaile records with a Bodleian location. Mr. Esdaile's not citing a B. M. location may be explained on the grounds that the set was acquired after publication of his *List*.

Wing,³ the three bibliographers of the romance, its presentation at this point will serve to assist the reader in following later explanations. At the end of this paper I shall present a more complete list incorporating several additional items cited in the course of the discussion.

- (1) *Parthenissa* (Part I, Books 1-6).⁴ Printed for Richard Lownes, London, 1654.

Collation: 4°, A-2L⁴ 2M². A1: title-page, v. blank.

- (2) *Parthenissa* In Four Parts. Printed for Henry Herringman, London, 1655.

The First Part

Collation: 4°, A⁴(±A1; A₃+A²+B²) B-3G⁴ [3H]1. A1: title-page, v. blank.

The Second Part

Collation: 4°, π1 A-3M⁴ 3N1. π1: title-page, v. blank.

The Third Part

Collation: 4°, π1 *² A-3G⁴ 3H². π1: title-page, v. blank.

The Fourth Part

Collation: 4°, π1 A-3E⁴. π1: title-page, v. blank.

- (3) *Parthenissa* The Fifth Part. Printed by T. R. and E. M. for Henry Herringman, London, 1656.

Collation: 4°, [A]1 B-2Q⁴ 2R1. [A]1: title-page, v. blank.

3. *Short-Title Catalogue . . . 1641-1700* (New York, 1948), II, 510.

4. Since Boyle has greatly confused literary historians and bibliographers by employing simultaneously two systems for numbering the multiple divisions of his romance, it is necessary at the outset to explain his dual practice. According to one system outlined by Boyle in his preface, the romance was thought of as falling into six general divisions or "tomes," each consisting of four subdivisions called "books." Herringman, Boyle's London bookseller, followed the author's plan and published the romance in six quarto sections of four "books" each, but used the word "part" instead of "tome" on the title-page of each of the six sections. Hence Herringman's "The First Part" is the equivalent of Boyle's first tome, etc. The great confusion arises in that

while Boyle in his preface was thinking of the romance as falling generally into six divisions or tomes, he had in the internal headings actually divided the romance into three "parts," each containing eight rather than four "books," a numbering system followed by the compositor and carried along page-by-page with the running titles. Therefore each Boyle "tome" consists of one-half of each Boyle "part," and likewise each Herringman "part" consists of one-half of each Boyle "part." Herringman's title-page, "The First Part," is affixed to the text of Boyle's Part I, Books 1-4; H's "The Second Part" to B's Part I, Books 5-8; H's "The Third Part" to B's Part II, Books 1-4; H's "The Fourth Part to B's Part II, Books 5-8; H's "The Fifth Part" to B's Part III, Books 1-4; H's "The Sixth Part" to B's Part III, Books 5-8.

- (4) *Parthenissa* The Sixth Part. Printed for Henry Herringman, London, 1669.

Collation: 4°, A-2Q⁴. Ar: title-page, v. blank.

- (5) *Parthenissa* The Six Volumes Compleat. Printed by T. N. for Henry Herringman, London, 1676.

Collation: 2°, A² B-3E⁴ 3F², 3Q-5K⁴ (5K⁴ blank?), lacking in observed copies). Ar: title-page, v. blank.

The edition of *Parthenissa* which Esdaile prefixed to the above list and which he and all literary historians after him have considered to be the first,⁵ he records thus:

*Parthenissa: A Romance. In Six Tomes. Composed by the Right Hon^{ble} The Lord Broghill, etc. Peter de Pienne: Waterford. 1654-55. 4° 4 vols.*⁶

To this description Esdaile appended the note: "There is a transcript of the Waterford Title-pages by H. Bradshaw in U[niversity] L[ibrary] C[ambridge]."⁷ Hence Esdaile, who otherwise gave a location for each book he listed, had not seen a copy of the romance with Waterford imprints, but in making his entry, he believed at the time, as he has written me, that a copy with these title-pages must have existed somewhere.⁸

The "transcript" to which he referred is set down in Bradshaw's handwriting on four separate leaves inserted after each of the four title-pages of copies of the four parts of Herringman's *Parthenissa* (London, 1655), which Bradshaw once owned and later gave to University Library Cambridge along with his extensive collection of Irish books.⁸

5. Mr. Wing, the latest bibliographer, does not list a 1654-55 edition because, as he has written me, he was unable to find a copy of such an edition in any of the libraries he visited in the United States or the British Isles. This failure to discover an example does not prove, of course, that a copy dated 1654-55 never existed.

6. Esdaile, *loc. cit.*

7. Mr. Esdaile had not yet located a copy when I last communicated with him in 1939.

My inquiries printed in *The New York Times*, (July 9, 1939) vi, 19, '3; in *Notes and Queries*, vol. 177, no. 6 (August 5, 1939), p. 98; and in *The Colophon*, vol. 1, no. 3 (September, 1939), p. 84, produced no information.

8. See *Cambridge University Library: Bradshaw Irish Collection* (London, 1916), II, 900. Note appended to Entry No. 5315: "Tomes 1-4 were printed in Waterford, by Peter de Pienne, 1654-55, and the separate titles of these are set out on inserted leaves written by Mr. Bradshaw."

In these notes Bradshaw makes no mention of the owner or the library location of the Waterford set, the titles of which he is presumably transcribing in his library manuscript insertions. Yet such facts as these he might perhaps be expected to include in a detailed description of a rare example of provincial Irish printing not in his private collection or in that of University Library Cambridge. In fact, Bradshaw never says that he is making notes from a particular set of volumes. On the verso of each of the four inserted leaves he simply summarizes the contents, including story-headings and pagination, of each of the four volumes, which except for the title-pages are identical with those in the Herringman, London, 1655 set. On the recto of each leaf, however, he seems to be describing a series of title-pages, all recorded with the same careful regard for detail as this first one:

Parthenissa: | A Romance. | In six Tomes. | Composed by the Right Hon^{ble}. | The Lord Broghill. | The first Tome | containing the first four Books of | The First Part. | Dedicated to the Lady Northumberland. | [Here Bradshaw sketches in an ornament] | Printed at Waterford by Peter de Pienne | in the year 1654.

[Bradshaw dates the second tome 1654 and the third and fourth tomes, 1655.]

To assume, as Esdaile did, that Bradshaw's notes constitute transcripts of actual printed title-pages, a fact presumably indicated by the lineation and the sketches of ornaments in the manuscript insertions, obliges the bibliographer to face at least one inconsistency in the practice of either Boyle or de Pienne. Boyle notes in his preface, inserted in the first gathering of *Parthenissa*, The First Part, Herringman, 1655, and written after 'the finishing of the Fourth Tome,' or Herringman's 'The Fourth Part,' that while he had originally planned to write *Parthenissa* in six tomes he has so far completed only four and that if he undertakes the last two it will be in penance for having done the first four. In fact, it was not until 1669, some fifteen years later, that Boyle completed the sixth 'tome' and

had it printed and published through Herringman in London. Yet Bradshaw's notes carry 'In six Tomes' in the description of all four Waterford title-pages presumably printed in 1654-55.

A much more plausible alternative interpretation of the Bradshaw notes, which can be supported by abundant evidence and which accounts for the apparent inconsistency just presented, is that Bradshaw shrewdly recognizing the sheets of the romance *Parthenissa* in quarto with Herringman, London, 1655, prefixed title-pages to be actually the presswork of an Irish provincial printer, undertook to construct a set of hypothetical title-pages which would describe as accurately as he could determine them the facts of the printing of the romance. This explanation of the objectives of Bradshaw's investigation certainly squares with the "natural-history" method which he first applied with great success to his historical classification of volumes lacking dates and printers' names in University Library Cambridge.⁹

Strong evidence supporting the "construction" explanation exists in the form of personal testimonies from G. W. Prothero, Bradshaw's biographer; Francis Jenkinson, his bibliographical protégé and successor as librarian of U.L.C.; and Sir Norman Moore, one of his friends. Prothero writes:

One of the last things he was working at was Lord Orrery's romance 'Parthenissa', which was supposed, from the title-page, to have been printed in London, but which he ingeniously proved to have been printed in 1654 at Waterford, where the author was at that time staying.¹⁰

Jenkinson, after examining Esdaile's newly published *List* (1912), wrote the following in a private letter to the compiler:

I am writing however to make sure that you know about Boyle's *Parthenissa*. . . . If I remember right, the whole of the text in six tomes was printed in Waterford;¹¹ whether title-pages have been seen I do not know.

9. See Arundell Esdaile, *A Student's Manual of Bibliography* (New York, 1931), pp. 21-22.

10. *A Memoir of Henry Bradshaw* (London, 1888), p. 330.

11. Jenkinson's memory failed here. Parts Five and Six were set up by London printers hired by Herringman.

The whole of the stock got into the hands of Herringman, who had his own titles printed. I think Bradshaw's titles are merely *reconstructions* [sic], not transcripts.¹²

Sir Shane Leslie, in a comparatively recent essay on Bradshaw, substantiates the opinions of Prothero and Jenkinson with information given him by one of Bradshaw's friends.

There is no one who remembers Henry Bradshaw today as a living librarian but I have always hung on the words of those who had known and tested his marvelous powers: such as Provost M. R. James and Sir Norman Moore. The latter always told me of his decipherment of the proper titles of the anonymous 17th century romance *Parthenissa* described as 'Printed in London 1655'. Only recently I examined his own copy in the University Library. Bradshaw in his own script had written the title-page as 'composed by the Right Hon. the Lord Broghill' and he had proved from the types that it was 'printed at Waterford by Peter de Pienne in the year 1654.'¹³

Clearly these accounts are at odds on how Bradshaw proved his case, but all agree on the central point that he was attempting to establish the actual printer, place of publication, and date of *Parthenissa* from available bibliographical information, *not* that he was recording information derived from the titles of any copies which he had seen.

There now remains, in substantiation of the personal testimony, the necessity for demonstrating how Bradshaw probably went about constructing his hypothetical title-pages. He had available to him in his own collection the entire six parts of the romance in quarto issued by Herringman, London, 1655-69, the Herringman 1676 folio, and the two issues of Cook's *Monarchy No Creature of God's Making*, printed and sold in Waterford by de Pienne (1651) and reissued in London by Brewster

12. I am indebted to Mr. Esaile for this information.

13. "Henry Bradshaw, Prince of Bibliographers," in *To Doctor R. Essays here collected and published in honor of the seventieth birthday of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, July 22, 1946* (Philadelphia, 1946), p. 134. It is not likely that Bradshaw thought of himself as the discoverer of the author of *Parthenissa*, for in his private collection he had two parts of the romance bearing the author's name and found a third in 1884 listed under Boyle's name in the *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. II.

in 1652.¹⁴ His biographer states that the *Parthenissa* problem was one of the last on which he had been working before his death in 1886; therefore in all probability the new light on the *Parthenissa* problem which gave impetus to his research at that late date was the entry “*Parthenissa 4° 1654*” in the second volume of the *British Museum Catalogue* published in 1884. The only scrap of evidence of Bradshaw’s work on the romance, other than the title-page notes, is the description of that B. M. copy of the R. Lownes 1654 London edition—the one preceding Herringman’s—preserved in his notebooks.¹⁵ It is improbable that he was aided by manuscript copies of either the *Stationers’ Register* (1913-14) or *The Letters of Dorothy Osborne* (1888), both published after his death.

Of the facts included in the Bradshaw title-page notes for the first tome¹⁶ quoted earlier, the title of the romance, the dedication, and the part and book numbers could have been readily derived from the Herringman 1655 title-pages. ‘*Parthenissa A Romance*’ follows the Herringman title-page verbatim. In place of Herringman’s ‘In Four Parts’, Bradshaw has substituted ‘In six Tomes’, a phrase suggested by the words ‘The Last Part | The Sixth Tome’ on the title-page of the Herringman 1669 quarto edition of *The Sixth Part*. The words ‘Composed by the Right Hon^{b16} | The Lord Broghill’ follow the Lownes title-page phrasing exactly, even to capitalization, punctuation, lineation, and abbreviation except that Lownes prints ‘Hon^{ob16}’ and Bradshaw writes ‘Hon^{b16}’. Having previously referred to the six major divisions of the romance as ‘tomes,’ Bradshaw is only consistent in substituting ‘The First Tome’ in place of Herringman’s ‘The First Part,’ while the

14. See Entry Nos. 5315, 6140, 5313-14 in *U. L. C. Bradshaw Irish Collection*.

15. I am indebted for this information and for a transcript of Bradshaw’s *Parthenissa* title-page notes to Mr. J. C. T. Oates, Assistant-under-Librarian at University Library Cambridge.

16. The Bradshaw notes for the title-pages of the other three tomes parallel so closely that for the first tome, except in necessary alterations of part and book numbers, dedication, and dates, that an analysis of Bradshaw’s method in drawing up the first title-page will suffice for the others.

phrase 'containing the first four Books of The First Part,' which appears on neither the Lownes nor the Herringman title-pages, is certainly Bradshaw's attempt to define precisely the contents of each 'tome' in the face of the confusing dual system of numbering the divisions of the romance found in the Herringman publication. The words 'Dedicated to the Lady Northumberland' appear on both the Lownes and Herringman title-pages. The imprint which Bradshaw composed follows, except for two deletions,¹⁷ the phrasing employed by de Pienne in his imprint of Cook's *Monarchy No Creature of God's Making*.

Bradshaw's identification of de Pienne as the printer and Waterford as the place of printing resulted almost certainly from his intimate knowledge of the history and press work of early Irish printers, which enabled him to identify from memory the characteristics of de Pienne's type, border designs, and craftsmanship in the Herringman quartos. If Bradshaw had had any doubts about the accuracy of his identification, even a casual comparison of his copy of the Herringman *Parthenissa* quartos with his copies of Cook's *Monarchy* printed by de Pienne in 1651 would have revealed to him that the fonts, border designs, and decorative capitals were identical. Further, de Pienne's faulty workmanship in permitting the 'beards' of the letters to print¹⁸ on the top and bottom lines of most of the pages of *Parthenissa* is also evident on almost every page of Cook's book. De Pienne's printing career centered on the towns of Cork and Waterford; the two extant books printed with his name on the title-page in the 1650's bear Waterford imprints.¹⁹

Bradshaw's settling on the dates 1654-55 for the printing of the romance is incorrect, as I shall demonstrate later in this paper. Sir Shane Leslie's statement that Bradshaw "proved from

17. The full imprint on the title-page of Cook's *Monarchy* reads, 'Printed at Waterford in Ireland by Peter de Pienne in the yeare of our Lord God, 1651.'

18. See Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*

(London, 1683), pp. 293-94 for discussion of this point.

19. E. R. McC Dix 'Irish Provincial Printing Prior to 1701,' *The Library*, 2nd Series, II (1901), 341-38.

the types that it [Part One] was printed . . . in the year 1654' is obviously inaccurate since de Pienne used the same types in 1651. Equally questionable is Prothero's statement that 'Bradshaw ingeniously proved [a part of *Parthenissa*] to have been printed in 1654 at Waterford where the author was at that time staying.' An author's residence in a particular town during a certain year is hardly proof for establishing the printing date of a book, especially when the Boyle family seat, Lismore Castle, was located only a short distance from Waterford. The fact is that by June, 1654, Boyle had left Ireland for London.²⁰ If Bradshaw had proved to his satisfaction that Boyle was residing in Waterford during the first half of that year, he did so on the basis of evidence unknown to Boyle's careful modern biographer, Professor W. S. Clark, II, who had access to all extant family papers. In all probability Bradshaw settled on the dates 1654-55 by reasoning that de Pienne working alone or at most with one assistant must have set up and printed off approximately half of the text of the lengthy romance sometime in 1654 if he was able to have completed and shipped to London the sheets of all four volumes in time for Herringman to publish them with his own titles in 1655. Or he might have conjectured, or perhaps even determined by collation, that the Lownes 1654 *Parthenissa*, Part I, Books 1-6, was set from the de Pienne text and hence that the bulk of the first two tomes must have been printed off by 1654.

The only detail of Bradshaw's title-page notes now unaccounted for is his ornament sketches. All four ornaments are drawn in the meagerest detail and do not appear to be careful efforts to copy particular title-page ornaments. They most nearly resemble large asterisks; the two on the title-pages of the tomes which Bradshaw believed were printed in 1654 are identical and are very slightly differentiated from the two identical ones on the title-pages of the tomes dated 1655. De

20. William S. Clark, II, *The Dramatic Works of Roger Boyle* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), I, 17.

Pienne did not use an ornament on the title-page of either his Cork *Eikon Basilike* or his Waterford *Monarchy*, nor did Herringman's printer use an ornament on his London 1655 title-pages. Lownes, however, did use one on his 1654 title-page, and since it has been pointed out that Bradshaw depended on the Lownes title-page for the lines of his hypothetically constructed title-pages stating the authorship, even to the point of reproducing capitalization, lineation, punctuation, and abbreviation, one can only suppose that in drawing up his notes in title-page form he satisfied a decorative whim²¹ by inserting an ornament as Lownes had done, making the ornaments for the title-pages of Tomes One and Two, dated 1654, identical and those for the title-pages of Tomes Three and Four, dated 1655, likewise identical.

The evidence presented so far, therefore, establishes two points: (1) Mr. Esdaile was mistaken in interpreting Bradshaw's title-page reconstructions as recordings of the titles of an actual edition printed in 1654-55, and (2) Bradshaw's significant contribution to *Parthenissa* bibliography was his identifying de Pienne as the printer of the quarto sheets offered for sale in London by Herringman in 1655.

2.

Earlier in this paper the printing dates 1654-55 set down by Bradshaw in his reconstructions were called inaccurate. It remains now to prove the validity of that assertion and to establish the actual date of printing.

As early as September, 1653, Dorothy Osborne, in writing to William Temple on the subject of romances, states: 'My Lord Broghill sure will give us something worth the reading.'²²

21. See Bradshaw's notes entitled "A Century of Notes on the Day-Book of John Dorne," a day-book edited by F. Madan, in *Collected Papers of Henry Bradshaw*, pp. 421-50. For his notes Bradshaw designed an elaborate title-page, carefully designating lineation and letter

sizes and surrounding the whole with a double border in which he printed appropriate maxims.

22. Abbott Parry, ed. *The Letters of Dorothy Osborne* (London, 1888) p. 162.

On October 12, 1653, Herringman had *Parthenissa* entered in the *Stationers' Register* as 'a romance heretofore written by the Lo: Broghall.'²³ In an issue of the *Mercurius Politicus* dated 'From Thursday January 19. to Thursday January 26. 1654' the Lownes *Parthenissa* was advertised for sale. By mid-February, 1653/54, Dorothy Osborne had received a copy of *Parthenissa* from her brother in London and had almost finished reading it. These pieces of evidence attest to the fact that Boyle had certainly written at least six books of Part One, the whole of the contents of the Lownes *Parthenissa*, sometime before 1654. If it now can be established that the Lownes text was set from that of de Pienne—and it is reasonable to suppose that a second edition would be set from printed copy rather than from manuscript provided that a printed copy were available—then de Pienne must have printed a portion of Part One sometime before 1654 also.

The collation of the text of 'The First Part' (Part One, Books 1-4), which Bradshaw had identified as the press work of de Pienne published by Herringman, with the corresponding text of the first four books of Part One printed for Lownes reveals three types of evidence pointing to Lownes' dependence on the de Pienne text.

(1) In eleven instances de Pienne undertook to enclose a phrase in parentheses and failed to include either the opening or closing parenthesis. The Lownes compositor erred in identical fashion on nine occasions, managing to supply de Pienne's omissions only twice.

(2) De Pienne almost habitually used a two-line-high capital for the first word in the text following either the close of an intercalated episode or the presentation of an epistle written by one romance character to another. Seventeen times de Pienne used a two-line-high capital, and eight times he employed a capital of the same font as the rest of the line. In all twenty-five instances the Lownes compositor followed the

²³. Eyre and Rivington, eds. (London, 1913-14) 1, 432.

de Pienne practice. On four occasions de Pienne introduced a new division of text with a head decoration and a large capital; on each occasion the Lownes compositor did the same. Three times de Pienne set the first letter of the first word in a new segment of text with a two-line-high capital and then set the rest of the letters in that word in one-line-high capitals. The Lownes compositor in each instance set the first word in like manner.

(3) The Lownes compositor, after correcting repeatedly in his text the literal errors committed by de Pienne, finally permitted inadvertently the following error to creep into his London text. The passage which in de Pienne reads: ' . . . for Canitius and Castus with those 400 men that were yet in *one* of the Groves for our Reserve', is reproduced in Lownes with the word *one* misprinted in the same odd way.²⁴

The evidence, therefore, in favor of resetting is so conclusive that one may state definitely that the Lownes compositor set his text from de Pienne's, not from an independent manuscript, and hence that at least the first six books of Part One—all that was reprinted by Lownes—were printed by de Pienne at some time earlier than 1654, the date fixed by Bradshaw.

Thus the first of Bradshaw's conjectured dates is proved to be inaccurate, but, if the reader recalls, Bradshaw suggested the printing date 1654 for only the first and second tomes (Part I, Books 1-8). Tomes Three and Four (Part II, Books 1-8), he believed, were printed in 1655. External evidence to prove or disprove the validity of Bradshaw's second date is lacking, but the internal evidence of the headlines in the text of the four tomes printed by de Pienne and published by Herringman points to the fact that Bradshaw was also inaccurate in advancing the date 1655 and in believing that a break occurred between the printing of the first two and the last two quarto volumes.

24. *Parthenissa* 'the First Part' (de Pienne text) p. 291; *Parthenissa* (the Lownes text) p. 128.

De Pienne, in printing the four tomes of *Parthenissa* which Herringman published in London, used throughout two skeletons per sheet. By means of the inevitable alterations which from time to time creep into headlines²⁵ it has been possible to trace overlapping series starting with the inner forme of the Ee gathering in the first tome and ending with the outer forme of the last complete gathering in the fourth tome. It can be stated confidently, therefore, that there is no indication of any break in the printing of sufficient extent to lead to the distribution of the skeletons; instead, it may be concluded that printing was normally continuous.

The evidence gathered from the collation of the de Pienne and the Lownes texts proved that the Lownes text was reset from de Pienne's and hence that de Pienne's printing date for the first tome (Part I, Books 1-4) and half of the second tome (Part I, Books 5-6) was earlier than 1654. The evidence of the de Pienne headlines in all four tomes proves that printing was continuous. Hence one is obliged to conclude that not just Part One, Books 1-6, but actually all eight books of Part One and of Part Two, the whole of the four quarto volumes, were printed earlier than 1654.

How much earlier than 1654 de Pienne started the printing is the question that must next be considered. To give a definite answer would be well nigh impossible were it not for the existence of a copy of *Parthenissa* containing the de Pienne sheets as later published by Herringman but with a unique title-page dated 1651²⁶ as the first leaf, the text including the whole of Parts One and Two or the equivalent of the four "Parts" of the Herringman 1655 publication. This lone title-page in a copy found among the holdings of the University of Texas Library bears only the romance title "PARTHENISSA" in large

²⁵. In de Pienne's headlines they are the frequent disappearance of the periods after 'Part' and 'Book' numbers.

the University of Virginia *Abstracts of Dissertations* (Charlottesville, Va., 1940), p. 16, and later supplied Mr. Wing with imprint information for his *Short-Title Catalogue*.

²⁶ ✓ recorded the existence of this volume in

capitals and an imprint: "Printed in the yeare 1651." The type used to print this title-page is identical with that used elsewhere by de Pienne, and the leaf bears part of a watermark identical with that found on several other leaves in Part One. Because the set has been tightly bound into two volumes by a modern binder, it is impossible to determine positively whether the title-page A1 is conjugate with A4, the fourth leaf of the first gathering in fours, but the chain lines and complementary parts of the same watermark seem to meet, and the signatures of the other leaves seem to warrant such a conclusion.²⁷ The make-up of the first leaf makes it questionable whether de Pienne ever meant it to serve as a commercial title-page since the facts of authorship, printer, and place of printing normally included on his title-pages are missing. The presence of an imprint date rules out one's considering it a half-title, and the leaf does not bear the information found normally on a section-title. Its contents seem to resemble those intended simply for an identifying title-page on a work privately printed, the printer's expectation being that once the romance was completely printed and publication arrangements made, de Pienne or some bookseller would cancel the temporary title-page and substitute a normal one.

The bibliographical evidence offered earlier points definitely to de Pienne's printing the four quarto tomes of *Parthenissa* before 1654. The imprint on the title of the Texas copy fixes the date of printing as 1651. The evidence next to be presented suggests the likelihood of de Pienne's doing the printing in about the year 1651.

Professor W. S. Clark, II, Boyle's biographer, states that Boyle served as an officer in the Irish Commonwealth forces from April, 1650, to June, 1654, and that he was most busily engaged in campaigns during the years 1650-52.²⁸ Hence, in a

27. Professor R. H. Griffith of the University of Texas English faculty has kindly reexamined the volume and confirmed the results of my own investigation.

28. W. S. Clark, II, *op. cit.*, 1, 15-17.

to me, Professor Clark stated that there might be a question whether Boyle could have found time to compose any large portion of his romance in the early 'fifties. The reasonable alternative explanation is, then, that Boyle must have composed the bulk of his writing sometime earlier. In any case all the campaigns in which Boyle served took place in the south of Ireland²⁹; therefore, it is probable that he had a few opportunities to visit Lismore Castle, the family seat, and possibly at one opportunity to make arrangements for the printing of his romance with de Pienne in Waterford, some thirty miles

like Boyle, de Pienne had previously been royalist in his sympathies as his printing of the *Eikon Basilike* at Cork in 1649 suggests, but by 1651 he had moved to Waterford and had begun using the Commonwealth press from which he issued 's Monarchy No Creature of God's Making (1651) and *An Act for the Settlement of Ireland* (1652). According to an order issued by the Council for the Affairs of Ireland dated at Kilkenny on September 30, 1652, de Pienne's press was locked up and his printing stopped,³⁰ but at some point in the year 1651 he could only have initiated a private printing job for an officer in the regard of the Commonwealth government by whom de Pienne himself was employed. Further, the fact that no books bearing de Pienne's imprint dated later than 1652 are known affords us at least the negative evidence for believing that de Pienne ceased printing in that year.

Establishing the date 1651 as in all probability correct for the printing of *Parthenissa* clears the way for a consideration of the complete setting and printing of this unique quarto in relation to its subsequent publication in London. The fact that it sold all eight books of Part One and of Part Two, which Herringman offered for sale 'In Four Parts', each of Herringman's parts bearing a title-page, and yet that it exists with only one commentary title points to two conclusions: (1) De Pienne did

not offer the romance for sale in Ireland; otherwise he would have cancelled the elementary title-leaf and supplied titles bearing his own imprint for all four tomes. (2) The state of this set is that of the sheets as they came to Herringman, who cut out the first leaf, leaving the telltale stub on A4,³¹ inserted his cancel title-leaf, and then supplied the three other divisions, which had never had title-leaves, with his own title-pages.

The University of Texas copy is, therefore, I suspect, the only extant copy of several perhaps retained in Ireland for distribution among Boyle's friends. Barring short printing of Herringman's title-pages, it is unlikely that the bookseller would have parted with a copy of the romance in London lacking his title-pages unless it were to the importunate author himself.

If this explanation of the state of the Texas University copy and of the de Pienne-Herringman relationship is accurate, the various editions of *Parthenissa* follow this order: (1) *Parthenissa*, Part One, Books 1-8, and Part Two, Books 1-8, 'Printed in the yeare 1651', constitutes the first issue of the first edition. (2) *Parthenissa*, Part One, Books 1-6, 'For R. Lownes . . . London, 1654', stands as a second setting of type done from the de Pienne text and is therefore a second edition, although it is presumably the first text offered for public sale. (3) *Parthenissa*, Part One, Books 1-8, and Part Two, Books 1-8, 'For H. Herringman . . . London, 1655', is the second issue of the first edition. Thus the second issue of the first edition of *Parthenissa*, Parts I and II, Books 1-8, was offered for sale after that of the Lownes second edition of Part One, Books 1-6. In addition, *Parthenissa*, Part One, Books 7-8, and all eight books of Part Two, which Herringman divided in two and called the Third and Fourth Parts, were offered for sale by Herringman presumably for the first time.

³¹. See above the collation of *Parthenissa* 'The First Part,' Herringman, London, 1655.

3.

Once Herringman had received the sheets from de Pienne, he did not, however, attempt to sell all of them at his own London shop, for one incomplete set of the romance, consisting only of "The First Part," "The Second Part," and "The Third Part," now in the Huntington Library,³² exists with Herringman title-pages bearing the press-variant imprints of Humphrey Moseley,³³ the leading London bookseller and foremost dealer in romances at that time. How the title-pages for this Herringman-Moseley London publication of *Parthenissa* were printed is bibliographically informative, especially in view of an error on the printer's part which caused the title-page imprint for "The Third Part" to exist with three variants.

The London title-pages of the four parts of the romance all have the same general appearance, and all are printed in two colors of ink, black and red. The distribution of matter printed in the two colors of ink on the title-pages of all four parts follows this of the Herringman state of the 'The First Part':

[Red] PARTHENISSA, | [black] A | ROMANCE. | [rule] | [red]
In Four Parts. | [black] [rule] | Dedicated to the Lady |
NORTHUMBERLAND, | And the Lady | SUNDERLAND. | [rule] |
[red] The First Part. | [black] [rule] | LONDON, | Printed for [red]
Henry Herringman, [black] and are to be sold at his | Shop at the Anchor
in the Lower Walk of the | New-Exchange. 1655.

A comparison of the four title-pages reveals at once that the title-pages for 'The First Part' and 'The Third Part' are printed with the exception of the necessary substitution of 'Third' for

32. The existence of this set, bearing the 1705 bookplates of the Duke of Beaufort, was first brought to my attention by Mr. Esdaile, who had discovered it among the listings of an English book dealer's catalogue. I succeeded in locating it several years later among the holdings of the Huntington Library and recorded its existence in the printed abstract of my dissertation. Mr. Wing has included the three unique Moseley imprints of the set in

Volume II of his *Short-Title Catalogue . . . 1641-1700*, but cites them erroneously as parts of "another edition."

33. These imprints are not included in the list of works published by Moseley which was compiled by John Curtis Reed, "Humphrey Moseley, Publisher," *Oxford Bibliographical Society Proceedings*, II, 2 (1928), 104-116.

'First' from one and the same setting of type and that the title-pages for 'The Second Part' and 'The Fourth Part' are likewise printed from one and the same setting of type, but a setting of type different from that used for the printing of the title-pages for the first and third parts.³⁴ Further, one of the title-pages bears half of a watermark on the outer edge of the leaf.³⁵ With the help of these clues the method of printing the title-pages may be readily reconstructed.

The printing was evidently done by a modified form of half-sheet imposition. The two different type-settings for Parts One and Two were imposed side by side in half of a regular quarto forme and printed together at one time. Upon completion of the run, the formes were unlocked, the part numbering was altered to 'Third' and 'Fourth,' and the title-pages for these parts were machined. Whether this second machining perfected the previous sheets or whether a complete run of printing and perfecting was made for each set of title-pages is impossible to determine.

Thus the general method of printing may be explained, but there are two other printing operations which call for particular consideration. The first of these is the way in which the title-pages were printed in two colors of ink. Several faint but distinct red ink overprintings of type meant to appear only in black, one of them a full line, indicate first that two machinings took place, one for the letterpress in black ink, the other for the letterpress in red ink; and second that the letterpress appearing in red ink was printed by means of raised type in a forme which also contained the letterpress meant to appear only in black. This method is the normal one as described by Moxon:³⁶ except that the pressman neglected to cut a specially designed frisket to prevent the red ink printing from type which had previously printed in black.

34. Obvious differences in the two settings of type are the broken tail on the second swash 'R' in Northumberland on the title-pages of the second and fourth parts, and the clipped base on the right leg of the first 'A' in the

phrase 'A ROMANCE' on the title-pages of the first and third parts.

35. The title-page for 'The Third Part' in the Yale University Library set.

36. J. Moxon, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-30.

The second operation worth attention is that involving the stop-press substitution of Moseley's imprint for Herringman's and the attendant error of the pressman which produced a hybrid imprint. The pressman, having wrought off his sheets black, an operation in which he stopped his press only once for the substitution of the Moseley imprint in place of that of Herringman, returned the forme to the stone where the compositor removed certain rows of quads in favor of the raised type to appear in red ink. With the second or red ink machining underway for the Herringman title-pages of Parts Three and Four, the pressman needed to watch only for the last sheet bearing the Herringman black ink imprint in order once again to stop his press for the substitution of Moseley's name in place of Herringman's. Evidently in the instance of the Yale University Library Part Three title-page, the pressman either failed to stop the press immediately after he had wrought off the last sheet bearing the Herringman imprint in black or failed to notice a stray sheet bearing the Moseley imprint in black mixed among the sheets carrying the Herringman black ink imprint. Whatever the circumstance, the error was made and later rectified with the following results: there exist two correct states of the title-page, (1) Herringman's name in red ink in the correct black ink imprint and (2) Moseley's name in red ink in the correct black ink imprint. The third state is the hybrid with Herringman's name in red ink in the black ink portion of Moseley's imprint.³⁷

4.

The final edition of *Parthenissa* is the folio reprint of all six parts printed by Thomas Newcomb, Sr., and published by

37. If the method for printing the title-pages of the third and fourth parts simultaneously, as outlined above, is accurately reconstructed, there once must have existed or still do exist unrecorded two title-pages of 'The Fourth Part' with variant imprints: one, a hybrid imprint like that on the Yale University

Library Part Three title-page; the second, a correct Moseley imprint like that in the Huntington set. It is unlikely that Moseley offered for sale only three of the four parts of *Parthenissa* while Herringman at the same time was offering for sale all four parts.

Herringman in 1676. The volume presents one minor bibliographical problem which is clear cut and readily lends itself to a definite solution.

The text seems to indicate clearly that two compositors set the copy; the problem rests with determining the exact division of their labors. Evidence pointing to the work of two compositors is of several sorts. First to be noted is an abrupt break in pagination between Parts Three and Four, a skip in numbering from page 403 to 485, accompanied by a similar interruption in signatures, a skip from 3F₂ to 3Q₁, evidently the result of a very inaccurate job of casting off copy. Second, from gathering 3Q to the end of the volume there occur two pairs of running-titles—each compositor used two skeletons in imposing the folio gatherings in fours—entirely different from those appearing in the first portion of the volume. Third, the type-page for all full pages from 3Q to the end contains consistently 53 lines (24 1/2 cm.) while that of all full pages in the first part of the volume contains consistently only 52 (24 cm.).

From this positive evidence we may conclude that the text was divided between two compositors, A and B: compositor A beginning with signature B, the first gathering with normal running titles; compositor B starting arbitrarily with 3Q, the first leaves of Part Four. The variations in running-titles and in the number of lines to the full page indicate that the type set by each compositor was printed in different sets of formes. If the compositors were setting simultaneously, as probably they were, two presses would have been used of necessity.

In addition to these general conclusions, however, there is this one point to be noted. One stretch of 23 pages, extending from page 377 (3Cr) to page 403 (3F₂) in the first portion of the volume set by compositor A, exhibits all the characteristics of the work of compositor B and of the formes which his pressman was using. Each full page has 53 lines of letterpress, and all the running-titles, starting with page 377 or signature 3Cr and running to page 403 or signature 3F₂ are different from all

those of the rest of the first portion of the volume and identical with all those of the second portion of the volume.

Thus the general conclusions for the setting up and printing of the folio text are these: the text was divided between two compositors, A and B, working simultaneously, each with a different press. Compositor A set the type for pages 1 (Br) to 376 (3B4^v). Compositor B set the type for pages 485-808 (3Qr-5K3^v), the whole of the text of Parts Four, Five, and Six. Since the composing assignment of compositor B was 53 pages shorter than that of compositor A, compositor B very likely finished his task before his fellow workman, and then undertook to help compositor A complete his stint by setting up the text of the last 23 pages (pages 377-403), 3C1-3F2 of Part Three. It is unreasonable to conclude that compositor B completed Part Three before starting on the text of the last three parts; if he had, the abrupt break in pagination and signatures would not have occurred.

5.

The results of this study are summarized in the following revised listing of the various editions, states of editions, and variant title-page imprints of the romance *Parthenissa*.

Parthenissa: (Part One, Books 1-8; Part Two, Books 1-8)

Quarto [Printed by Peter de Pienne, Waterford] 'Printed in the yeare 1651.' [First issue of first edition]

Location: University of Texas Library.

Parthenissa: (Part One, Books 1-6)

Quarto For Richard Lownes, London, 1654. [Second edition]

Locations: British Museum; Huntington.

Parthenissa: 'In Four Parts The First Part' (Part One, Books 1-4)

Quarto [Printed by Peter de Pienne, Waterford] For Henry Herringman, London, 1655. [Second issue of first edition]

Locations: Bodleian, British Museum, University Library Cambridge, Dulwich College; Huntington, Library Company of Philadelphia, Yale.

Variant title-page imprint: For Humphrey Moseley, London, 1655.

Location: Huntington.

Parthenissa: 'In Four Parts The Second Part' (Part One, Books 5-8)

Quarto [Printed by Peter de Pienne, Waterford] For Henry Herringman, London, 1655. [Second issue of first edition]

Locations: Same as for 'The First Part,' except for Dulwich.

Variant title-page imprint: For Humphrey Moseley, London, 1655.

Location: Huntington.

Parthenissa: 'In Four Parts The Third Part' (Part Two, Books 1-4)

Quarto [Printed by Peter de Pienne, Waterford] For Henry Herringman . . . at the Anchor in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange, 1655. [Second issue of first edition]

Locations: Bodleian, British Museum, University Library Cambridge; Huntington, Smith College Library.

Variant title-page imprints: (*) For Humphrey Moseley . . . at his Shop at the sign of the Prince's Arms in St. Pauls Churchyard, 1655. (†) 'For Henry Herringman . . . at his Shop at the sign of the Prince's Arms in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1655.'

Locations: (*) Huntington; (†) Yale.

Parthenissa: 'In Four Parts The Fourth Part' (Part Two, Books 5-8)

Quarto [Printed by Peter de Pienne, Waterford] For Henry Herringman, 1655. [Second issue of first edition]

Locations: Bodleian, British Museum, University Library Cambridge; Huntington, Smith College Library, Yale.

Parthenissa: 'The Fifth Part' (Part Three, Books 1-4)

Quarto Printed by T[homas] R[atcliffe] and E[dward] M[ottershead] for Henry Herringman, London, 1656. [First edition]

Locations: Balliol College, Oxford; Bodleian; British Museum; University Library Cambridge; Huntington; Smith College Library.

Parthenissa: 'The Sixth Part' (Part Three, Books 5-8)

Quarto For Henry Herringman, London, 1669. [First edition]

Locations: Bodleian, University Library Cambridge; Huntington.

Parthenissa: 'The Six Volumes Compleat' (Parts One, Two, and Three)

Folio Printed by T[homas] N[ewcomb] for Henry Herringman, London, 1676. [Third edition of Part One, Books 1-6; second edition of Part One, Books 7-8, Part Two, and Part Three]

Locations: British Museum; University Library Cambridge; Dyce Collection, Victoria and Albert; Haigh Hall, Wigan: Amherst, Clark Library, Library of Congress, Massachusetts Historical Society, Newberry Library, Peabody Institute, and the following university libraries: Chicago, Cincinnati, Columbia, Harvard, Illinois, Michigan, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Virginia, and Yale.

Dryden's *Indian Emperour*: The Early Editions and their Relation to the Text

JAMES S. STECK

HUGH MACDONALD IN HIS DRYDEN *Bibliography* listed ten editions of Dryden's play, *The Indian Emperour*, appearing between 1667 and 1696.¹ However, since the publication of Macdonald's bibliography, it has been discovered that two other editions of the play were printed and issued, one in 1670 and the other in 1696. The existence of the latter edition was reported by E. N. Hooker, who found it in the William A. Clark Library.² More recently, Fredson Bowers has discovered another edition of the play bearing the date 1670.³

Macdonald did not attempt to establish a genealogical order for the texts of the play or to demonstrate the exemplum from which each edition after the second was printed, being content merely to list the plays according to the dates which appeared on their title-pages. The present study attempts to supply this previously unrecorded textual history of the play.

The following table of the first thirteen editions of *The Indian Emperour* shows the numbering adopted by Macdonald

1. John Dryden, *A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), pp. 93-95.

2. J. M. Osborn, "Macdonald's Bibliography of Dryden: An Annotated Check List of Selected American Libraries," *Modern Philology*, xxxix (1941), 80-81. Recorded in G. L. Wood-

ward and J. G. McManaway, *A Check List of English Plays, 1642-1700* (Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1945), as no. 424.

3. "Variants in Early Editions of Dryden's Plays," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, III, no. 2 (1949), 278.

for his Dryden bibliography as emended by Osborn's article, together with the corresponding list which appears in Woodward and McManaway's *Check List of English Plays*. For convenience in referring to the various editions these are also identified alphabetically and rearranged in the true order of their printing as revealed by a bibliographical comparison of the several texts.

Edition	Date	Macdonald	Woodward and McManaway
A	1667	69a	414
B	1668	69b	415-416
C	1670	[69c ¹ -Bowers]	[417a-Bowers] ⁴
D	1670	69c	417
E	1670	69d	418
F	1681	69e	419
G	1686	69f	420
H	1692	69g	421
I	1694	69h	422
J	1696	69k	425
K	1696	[69j-Osborn]	424
L	1696	69i	423
Folio	1701	107ai	—

After the first edition of *The Indian Emperour* was published in 1667, Dryden wrote "A Defence of an Essay of Dramatique Poesie," which appeared for the first and only time in some copies of the second edition of the play, although cancelled in most. The introductory words of the essay indicate that Dryden himself carefully edited the 1668 edition which it prefaced:

The former Edition of *The Indian Emperour* being full of faults which had escaped the Printer, I have been willing to overlook this second with more care; and though I could not allow my self so much time as was necessary yet by that little I have done, the Press is freed from some gross errors which it had to answer for before.⁵

4. Bracketed numbers are those assigned to the newly-discovered editions by Hooker-Osborn and Bowers.

5. Dryden, *The Dramatic Works*, ed. Montague Summers, (London: Nonesuch Press, 1931), 1, 255.

However, Dryden made few major changes in edition *B* (1668). Except for the deletion of one couplet which appears as lines 26-27 on G_{1v} of edition *A* (p. 314, ll. 26-27),⁶

As when the Head distempers does endure,
Each several part must join t'effect the cure.

and the omission of three lines in the prologue, A_{4v}, ll. 8-10 (274: 21-23), the changes made by Dryden serve simply to regularize the meter and to clarify the meaning of his verse. For example, in edition *A* three lines, D₄, ll. 35-37 (297: 22-24), reading,

Poor Heart!
She slumbers deep, deep in her silent Tomb,
Let her possess in Peace that narrow Room.

appear in edition *B* as,

Poor Heart! She slumbers in her silent Tomb,
Let her possess in Peace that narrow Room.

a rendering which better conforms to the metrical pattern of the rest of the text. The couplet on H₂ of *A*, ll. 6-7 (322: 3-4), reading,

Ah! Cursed Woman, what was my Design!
At least this Weapon both our Blood shall joyn.

becomes in edition *B*,

Ah! Cursed Woman, what was my Design!
This Weapons point shall mix that blood with mine!

a change which one would scarcely expect from a printer unless the text had been edited authoritatively.

Edition *B* is a page-for-page reprint of edition *A* with but one exception. In edition *A*, sig. C₃ ends with line 38 (288: 18),

Orb. He has commanded you with me to go.

6. The page and line references in parentheses are to the edition of Montague Summers. Summers did not number lines within scenes and acts. Signature and line references are those of the editions under discussion.

But edition *B* appends the following line of the text drawn from the next page and ends, therefore,

Orb. He has commanded you with me to go.

Cyd. Has he not sent to bring the stranger too?

This same change in the number of lines on sig. C₃ of edition *B* is useful in determining that the three 1670 editions *C*, *D*, and *E* derive from edition *B* rather than from edition *A*, since at this point all three editions are like *B* in including line 39 on C₃. Likewise the three 1670 editions follow *B* in omitting the couplet appearing in *A* on G₁v, ll. 26-27 (314: 26-27), and the three lines in the prologue. *C*, *D*, and *E* retain the improved readings of the couplets on D₄ and H₂. The stage-direction on D₂, l. 19 (293: 16) of edition *B*, '*Enter Pizarro*', is not present in edition *A*, but is to be found in *C*, *D*, and *E*, as is a line of the text first added in edition *B* on I₄v, l. 30 (333: 40),

Alm. When that is forc'd there yet remain two more.

Even though as a group *C*, *D*, and *E* are alike and are demonstrably based ultimately upon *B* as a copy-text, there are enough differences in the three editions to indicate their respective derivations and their order. It is possible first to separate editions *D* and *E* as a group distinct from edition *C*. In editions *B* and *C* on B₄v, l. 6 (283: 11), the line,

My love I dare not, ev'n in whispers breath,

is misprinted in *D* and *E* as

My love I dare even in whispers breath.

A similar change is to be seen on G₄v, l. 38 (318: 12), where *C* and earlier editions read,

Alas, it was not new! too late I see,

but *D* and *E* have,

Alas, it was new! too too late I see.

These are but a few of the many cases in which editions *D* and *E* depart from the text of *C*. Often there is a change in pronoun. Where *C* and earlier editions read, 'our Monarch', *D* and *E* have 'your Monarch', C₃, l. 15 (286: 7). 'Your' of *C* is changed to 'you' in *D* and *E* on C_{4v}, l. 30 (289: 10). In both instances the context shows that the readings of editions *D* and *E* are erroneous, but the errors make reasonably good sense and thus would not be subject to proof-correction except by an extremely careful editor.

It is likewise possible to distinguish edition *E* from edition *D*. In many places where *D* agrees with *C*, edition *E* shows a deterioration of the text. The opening words of l. 23 on sig. D₃ (293: 21) of editions *C*, *D*, and the preceding texts are, 'Men can', but in *E* these are changed to 'Man can'. On D₄, l. 34 (295: 27), 'from your', of *C*, *D*, and earlier editions becomes 'from our', in edition *E*. On F₁, l. 1 (306: 1), editions *A-C* read, 'SCENE III. Mexico'. Edition *D* has 'SCENE III, Mexico'; but edition *E* has only 'SCENE III.' The stage-direction on G_{3v}, l. 19 (317: 34), reading '*Souldiers shout, A Guyomar.*' in editions *A-D* becomes in edition *E*, '*Souldiers shout, Guyomar.*' It is thus evident that edition *E* is last in the series of editions *C*, *D*, and *E*. If all other proof were lacking that this is so, one circumstance alone would be sufficient evidence to indicate strongly the posteriority of edition *E*. Editions *C* and *D* follow the preceding editions in ending sig. K_{1v} with line 38 (334: 5), but edition *E* has 39 lines on that page, drawing the extra line from the top of the next page, K₂. Therefore, it is extremely unlikely that edition *E* should have come first or in an intermediate position in the series of 1670 editions.

Nor could editions *D* or *E* have been derived from *B* independently of *C*. There are too many cases in which major changes in the text of the play are to be found initially in *C*, changes which are repeated by editions *D* and *E*. In fact, edition *C* presents much evidence of extensive re-editing. Although edition *C* contains no statement like that in edition *B* concerning

the changes made in the text by Dryden, one is led to suspect that the author was responsible for the emendations to be seen in the 1670 editions. Dryden had stated in his introductory remarks to "A Defence" that:

As for the more material faults of writing, which are properly mine, though I see many of them, I want leisure to amend them.

It is entirely possible that between 1668 and 1670, when the third edition appeared, Dryden found time to go over the play quite carefully and to make numerous corrections in the diction and meter which for the most part seem to enhance considerably the literary value of the play. That Dryden, rather than some other editor, was responsible for the emendations is probable, not only because of the nature and extent of the corrections, but also because of the early date in the history of the play itself. In 1670 Dryden was still closely associated with his publisher, Henry Herringman, and it is extremely unlikely that the latter should have sought the services of another for such a task if Dryden were readily available to him.

A few examples will suffice to indicate the nature of the changes made in the text by the editor of edition C. In editions A and B lines 2-3 on B2^v (279: 26-27), reading,

My birth I to that injur'd Princess owe,
Whom his hard heart not only love deny'd,

appear in C as,

My birth I to that injur'd Princess owe,
To whom not only he his love deny'd.

On C₂, ll. 3-4 (285: 37-38), of editions A and B the couplet,

Last, that you leave those Idols you implore,
And one true Deity with him adore.

becomes in edition C,

Last, that you leave those Idols you adore,
And one true Deity with pray'r's implore.

More extensive changes may be noted in lines 26, 28-29 on C₂ (287: 12, 14-15), where

It was an act my Honour bound me to,

 I could not do it on my Honours score,
 For Love would now oblige me to do more,

are revised in edition C to read,

Honour requir'd that Act, ev'n from a Foe,

 That reason which inclin'd my will before
 Would urge it now, for Love has fir'd it more.

Many such revisions of the text are to be found in edition C. If, therefore, the almost inevitable hypothesis that Dryden was the editor of C is correct, then C would seem to be the edition which best represents the state in which the author wished the play to appear in print, and which constitutes the best rendering of the text, for there is no evidence that Dryden corrected any later edition.⁷ It is therefore my opinion that edition C presents the best text of the play and that its variants must be considered to be authoritative in constructing the text for a modern edition of *The Indian Emperour*.

Edition F of the play is dated 1681. F omits the extensive revisions of editions C, D, and E and returns to the readings found in B, of which it is a page-for-page reprint.⁸ In every case where editions A and B differ, F follows the reading and ar-

7. Edition C was overlooked by Scott-Saintsbury and by Summers as contributing authoritative variants to the text of the play. Owing to the subsequent history of the text, the variants in C, although they are repeated in D and E, did not appear in later editions, all of which stem from F (1681), which in turn goes back to B.

8. Why F used B as a copy-text rather than the vastly superior edition C is a matter for conjecture. Normally we should expect the

more recent edition to furnish copy for a new one. Since this was not done, the question arises whether a copy of C, D, or E was available to the printer, or if one were at hand, why Herringman preferred the text of B. As Dr. Bowers has suggested to me, the explanation may probably lie in the fact that edition B contained "A Defence" and that therefore B might have been preserved for the purpose of furnishing a text in case it were ever considered expedient to reprint the essay in later editions.

rangement of *B* rather than that of *A*.⁹ Particularly significant is the fact that *F*, like *B*, ends sig. C₃ with line 39 instead of line 38, as does *A*. Nor does *F* print the couplet on G_{1v} or the three lines in the prologue omitted by *B*. It is thus evident that *B* was the copy-text for *F*.¹⁰

Edition *G*, dated 1686, in turn uses edition *F* as a copy-text. Although *G* for the first time breaks the series of paginal reprints by printing more lines on each page, the edition offers few problems in tracing its textual origin. The correspondence between *F* and *G* can be demonstrated clearly in the cases where *F* introduces new variants. On B_{4v}, l. 30 (283: 36), in edition *F* the name '*Taxcallan*' of the earlier editions is spelled '*Traxallan*' and appears thus in edition *G*. In the same line of the text both editions *F* and *G* omit the stage-direction, '*Another Enters.*' given in editions *A-E*. On C₂, l. 12 (286: 4), '*This Soveraign Lord*' of editions *A-E* is changed in *F* and *G* to '*The Soveraign Lord*'. Edition *F* also rewords the line appearing on C₃, l. 19 (287: 42) in editions *A-E* as '*storms within my breast*' to '*tortments in my breast*'. Edition *G* gives the second reading.

Edition *G* was the copy-text for edition *H*, dated 1692. Most obvious as proof of this is the fact that *H* is a page-for-page reprint of *G*. Likewise, variants introduced for the first time by *G* are repeated by *H*. In the Latin motto of the title-page, '*Me quoque,*' of editions *A-F* appears as '*Me quoq;*' in editions *G* and *H*. The speech-heading '*High Pr.*' in editions *A-F* on C₄, l. 32 (290: 1) and again on C_{4v}, ll. 17 and 28 (290: 23 and 34), is in editions *G* and *H* printed '*H. Priest.*'¹¹

9. There are several instances in which *F* follows readings appearing in *C*, *D*, and *E* but which are not present in some copies of *B*. But in every case press-corrected copies of *B* contain these variants and are thus the source not only for the variants in *C*, *D*, and *E*, but also for those in *F* as well.

10. One minor, but very significant detail in the printing of *F* shows its neglect of *CDE* as copy-texts. Edition *B*, like *A*, prints the epi-

logue of the play on two pages, sigs. K₃ and K_{3v}; but *CDE* on sig. K₄ only. *F* again uses K₃ and K_{3v}, with the last seven lines of the epilogue, as in *A* and *B*, on K_{3v}.

11. There are two major differences between editions *G* and *H*. *G* prints the epilogue at the end of the play; *H* on the verso of the page bearing the prologue. In *G*, as in the earlier editions, the dedication is in italic type; in *H* this appears in roman.

Edition *I*, 1694, again introduces a compressed makeup in the series of editions, further reducing the number of pages needed to print the play. However, *I* presents a much more intricate problem regarding its immediate source. In certain details it is very similar to edition *H*, which normally would be expected as the copy-text, but in other particulars edition *I* returns to the earlier readings of edition *G* not shared by *H*. Unless a lost edition intervenes (an unlikely contingency), the most probable explanation of the variants in edition *I* is that *I* was printed from both *G* and *H*, with two compositors setting copy simultaneously or consecutively, one using *G* as copy-text, the other *H*.¹² A remote possibility that *I* was printed from either *G* or *H* with press-corrections being made from the alternate copy is not demonstrable. In any case, if setting were simultaneous, the fact that *H* is a paginal reprint of *G* would materially aid the accurate casting off of copy in order that omissions or overlappings of texts might not occur and the amount of copy allotted to each compositor should exactly fill the space for which it was intended.¹³ Exactly what conditions prevailed concerning the double copy-text for edition *I* may not be stated categorically beyond the fact that the edition does reflect both *G* and *H*.¹⁴

Three editions of the play, *J*, *K*, and *L*, are dated 1696, and

12. It was conventional for two compositors to work in relay, each following his own counted-off copy-text. For a demonstration of this method, see Philip Williams, "The Compositor of the Pied-Bull Lear," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society, University of Virginia*, I (1948-49), 59 ff.

13. If *I* was set from both *G* and *H* the question may be raised why each compositor was not given one half of the text to set while the other was at work upon the second half. As has been noted, the collation of *I* differs considerably from that of editions *G* and *H*, necessitating an extremely accurate casting off of copy, a task not impossible, but one which would have resulted in delaying the printing

process. However, if only one press were employed, the compositors would need to set in relay.

14. According to the appearance in edition *I* of variants which can with certainty be traced to the earlier editions, sigs. B₁, C₁, C_{4v}, D₃, D_{3v}, D₄, D_{4v}, F₁, F₂, F_{3v}, G₂, G_{4v}, H_{2v}, H₃, I₁, and I_{1v}, of edition *G* were used as copy-text for edition *I*. The dedication, the epilogue, and sigs. B₂, D₂, E₂, E₃, and E_{3v} of edition *H* were used for the corresponding passages of edition *I*. Because of the mixed condition of the text of edition *I* elsewhere, it is impossible to point definitely to either one or the other edition as copy-text for *I* for other pages.

again the problem of order is raised. All three editions follow the paginal arrangement of edition *I*, thus indicating that one or all three of the 1696 editions used *I* as a copy-text. However, edition *J* is closer textually to edition *I* than are editions *K* and *L*. Examples of the close relationship between *I* and *J* may be seen in instances where *I* and *J* are the same while *K* and *L* display new variants. On A_{2v}, l. 10 (271: 32) 'farther off' in editions *I* and *J* becomes 'further off' in *K* and *L*. Again on the same page, l. 15 (272: 1), 'Wines' in *I* and *J* is changed to 'Vines' in *K* and *L*. On C₃, l. 4 (290: 15) 'thy land' in editions *I* and *J* reads in editions *K* and *L* 'the land'. Similarly 'such ease' on E_{3v}, l. 19 (310: 5) of editions *I* and *J* is changed in *K* and *L* to 'thy ease'.

Nor were *K* and *L* derived from *I* independently of edition *J*. There are too many minor, but significant, variants which appear for the first time in edition *J* and are repeated in turn by editions *K* and *L* to admit this possibility. Of these but one is necessary to show the relative order of editions *J*, *K*, and *L*. Actually the passage in question contains several interdependent variants arising from an error of interpretation by the compositor of edition *J*. The variants are to be found on F₂, ll. 15, 17, and 21 (315: 21, 23, and 27). The first of these lines in edition *A* is assigned two lines above to Alibech and reads,

Odmar I come to tell you pleasing News,

and editions *B* through *H* repeat the line with but one change, the insertion of a comma after '*Odmar*'. In edition *I*, however, the comma is replaced with a period. Edition *J* uses the same punctuation as *I*. But editions *K* and *L* abbreviate '*Odmar*' to '*Odm.*' and print the line as if '*Odm.*' were a speech-heading. That the compositor of edition *J* thought the '*Odmar.*' of line 15 was a speech-heading is made evident by his treatment of the speech-heading which follows on line 17. In the early editions *A-I*, line 17 and the three following lines are assigned correctly to Odmar, but the compositor of *J*, mistaking '*Odmar.*' in line

15 for a speech-heading and finding that this resulted in the assignment of two consecutive speeches to Odmar, substituted for the second '*Odm.*' the abbreviation '*Alib.*' This in turn resulted in his having two consecutive speech-headings for Alibech, the second appearing on line 21 in edition *I*. Therefore he omitted the '*Alib.*' of line 21 in an attempt to solve his difficulties. The dependence of editions *K* and *L* upon *J* is shown by the fact that these two editions copied the error made by the compositor of *J*, and on line 17 print '*Alib.*' and omit the speech-heading on line 21. It is extremely unlikely that all three compositors should have arrived at the same solution of the problem independently.

Although editions *K* and *L* are in most instances identical, there are enough differences in the two editions to indicate their order. On B_{3v}, ll. 17-18 (282: 42-43) of edition *J* appears the couplet,

Time best will show whose services will last.
Odm. Then judge my future service by my past.

The couplet is the same in edition *K*, but in edition *L* the same lines read,

Time best will show whose service will last.
Odm. Then judge my future services by my past.

The transposition of the singular and plural forms of 'service' makes both lines irregular in meter. It might be argued that *L* may have been the copy-text for *K* and that the compositor of *K* noticing the irregularity corrected the two lines. However, on the same page, B_{3v}, l. 37 (283: 19) edition *L* spells the possessive form of an Indian name '*Taxalla's*'. All the earlier editions *A-K* spell the same name '*Traxalla's*'. In line 33 above (283: 15), editions *J*, *K*, and *L* erroneously spell the same name '*Taxalla's*', in place of the correct form, '*Traxalla's*', as it appears in all the earlier editions. If *K* had used *L* as a copy-text, it would appear exceedingly strange that the compositor should

have returned to the original form of the word in line 37 after having spelled it without the *r* in line 33. That edition *L* is last in the series *J*, *K*, *L* is also shown by the many instances where in this edition alone appear variants which do not particularly affect the meaning of the lines and which therefore would be less subject to correction. This is especially true of several lines on sig. D₂. Here in lines 35, 37, and 43 (297:35, 37, and 43) edition *L* has 'passion . . . bring . . . mean', whereas the corresponding words in the earlier texts of the play read, 'Passions . . . brings . . . meant'. The stage-direction on D₄, l. 22 (301:40) of edition *L* reads, 'Guyomar returns and beats them.' This is a radical, but understandable rendition, considering the appearance of the type, of the stage-direction in editions *A-K* reading, 'Guyomar returns and bears them.'

The First Folio of Dryden's plays was published by Jacob Tonson in 1701. Apparently the copy-text for the Folio was *J*, one of the 1696 editions. Although the number of variants common only to *J* and the Folio is small, there are enough to establish a direct relationship between the two editions. On sig. Q₁, l. 38 (290:4) the Folio repeats a misprint made only in edition *J* where the couplet,

Who Visions dress in pleasing Colour still,
Set all the Good to show, and hid the Ill:

reads 'hide the ill' in all other editions. Similar is the repetition in the Folio on R_{3v}, l. 13 (310:5), of a line in edition *J*,

Thou shall not at such ease receive thy Doom

which all other editions render correctly as,

Thou shalt not at such ease receive thy Doom.¹⁵

In addition to these unique agreements there occur in the Folio variants which are found only in editions *J*, *K*, and *L*, and which point definitely to *J* as the copy-text because the Folio is

15. As noted above, *K* and *L* read 'thy' for 'such.'

like *K* and *L* only when *K* and *L* agree with *J*.¹⁶ The Folio agrees with *J*, *K*, and *L* in printing the stage-direction 'To Montez.' following line 45 on P2 (281:5) while all other earlier editions print the same stage-direction at the end of the preceding line of text. Likewise, on Q1, l. 18 (289:27) of the Folio 'along', a misprint for 'a long' in all other editions, is to be found only in *J*, *K*, and *L*. A somewhat similar error in *J*, *K*, and *L* is to be seen on the same page, l. 33 (289:42) where these editions add to the line a word not in the earlier editions, making it read,

Doom as they please with my Empire not to stand.

Here 'with' is the superfluous word which not only makes the line hypermetrical but also obscures its meaning.¹⁷

Nevertheless the case for *J* as the copy-text of the Folio is not entirely indisputable. There are certain points where the Folio rejects the readings of edition *J* for those of an earlier edition. One such case is to be seen on sig. Q2v, l. 42 (295:2), where the Folio reads,

Where hast thou been since first the Fight began,

as do editions *A-H*. But editions *I-L* omit the word 'first'. Again on R1v, l. 22 (303:34) the line,

Vasquez, the trusty Slave with you retain,

appears thus correctly in editions *A-G*, and the Folio, but reads,

Vasquez, the trusty Slave which you retain,

in editions *H-L*. Nor does the Folio repeat the errors made in the speech-headings which were so valuable above in establish-

16. There is one exception to this general statement. The Folio spells the name 'Traxalla' thus on Qr^v, l. 1 (290:32), as do all editions but *J* and *K*, which misprint it 'Taxalla'. However, the spelling of this name is not a good test in the Folio, since it regularly has 'Traxalla' no matter what the other editions read.

17. The edition made by Summers also has the superfluous 'with', and this, together with many other instances in which his text and that of the Folio are in accord to the neglect of more authoritative readings, indicates that the Folio was probably the copy-text for his modern edition in spite of his misleading claims for early authority.

ing the relationship between editions *I*, *J*, *K*, and *L*. Instead the Folio here is like editions *B-H*. Unfortunately there is no sure test which can be used to point definitely to the one early edition as the source of these correct readings. However, by a process of elimination, it can be determined with a fair amount of confidence that edition *G* was used occasionally to make corrections in the text of *J*. The corrections occur so rarely and with such irregularity as to make untenable the hypothesis that *G* might have been used alternately with *J* as a copy-text. It is more likely that a hasty or sketchy attempt at editing the text may have been made at the time the Folio was printed. But even though these earlier variants are to be found in the Folio, the evidence is preponderantly upon the side of edition *J* as its immediate copy-text.

Bibliographical Evidence from the Printer's Measure*

FREDSON BOWERS

TYPOGRAPHICAL MEASUREMENTS HAVE always been of important service in bibliography, as instance the basic uses for identification to which incunabulists put the measurement of twenty lines of type. The present study is not concerned, however, with measurements of type for the purposes of identifying fonts held by printers, but instead with certain inferences which the investigator of the presswork of sixteenth and seventeenth-century books may draw on occasion from identifying the length of the printer's stick, or measure—sometimes, but not always, in conjunction with alterations in the overall type-page opening in the skeleton-formes of a particular book. This study is confined almost exclusively to Restoration play quartos, but only because I have been working closely with these for several years and have been able to keep records of measurements in some hundreds of books. Except for the final section devoted to the identification of compositors setting in relay, there is perhaps nothing very new in the evidence advanced; but since no formal study has, I think, been made of this kind of evidence, it is perhaps useful to bring together in one place a maximum of

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information even though some part of it is familiar to most analytical bibliographers.

In his stick, or measure, the compositor set the type from his cases, and from this stick he transferred as convenient a series of composed lines to his page-galley. In setting a mixture of verse and prose, he often used two measures, one short and one long, the longer being the full width of his type-page. Which measure was used to set any given line may have considerable textual significance, as Mr. George Williams has shown in this present volume in his "A Note on *King Lear*, III.ii.1-3."¹

In early times this compositor's stick was made in various fixed lengths, but at some indeterminate period before Moxon's treatise the adjustable stick came into use. It is generally believed that with the adjustable stick, at any rate, and probably with standard widths of the fixed stick, the compositor owned his own measure. Whether this is an absolute fact is not essential for the present argument, but it may be remarked that close examination of a number of Restoration play quartos does not disclose the interchange of measures between compositors during the course of setting books where variant measures may be identified. Whether fixed or adjustable, sticks were likely to vary among themselves by as much as two millimeters even when intended to be used in setting the same width of type-page. This is understandable when the difficulties are taken into account either of two compositors adjusting their sticks identically or of the artisan carving two wooden fixed sticks to give an absolutely precise opening for each.

This small variation in the long measure was of little consequence in the printing. It was too small to be seen by the eye,

1. In these same lines further bibliographical evidence, which did not concern his argument, may be adduced from the measure. Much of the discussion as to the nature of the copy behind this passage in the quarto, found in G. I. Duthie, *Shakespeare's KING LEAR: A Critical Edition* (1949), pp. 96-99 quoting Hubler and Greg, is vitiated by the fact that the com-

positor could not have begun to set the opening lines as prose and decided to line it as verse only in the fourth line: since the first three lines are clearly justified in the short, or verse measure, never used in this play for prose, the natural inference is that he began to set them as verse and the mislineation must be accounted for by other means.

and it did not prevent type-pages composed in two such variable sticks from being imposed in the same skeleton-formes: the wedges seem easily to have taken up the difference and provided equal pressure within any portion of the forme. There would be a limit of tolerance, of course. My observation has been that up to about two millimeters difference may be taken as normal, although I have seen measures varying up to three millimeters used in setting type for the same formes: when more widely variant measures are found, one will usually discover that different skeleton-formes contain the type-pages of such unequal width.

Measuring to detect these variant sticks is not always easy. The bibliographer must take account of the fact that different letters were cast on different parts of the body of the type and that he must choose roughly similar letters at the beginning and end of successively measured lines if he is not to be thrown off by non-significant variation of as much as a millimeter. This is important, for often he must work with variance between two compositor's sticks of as little as a single millimeter. Moreover, the measurement of no one line on a page can be trusted to identify accurately the stick used for that page owing to the fact that compositors seem frequently to have justified a line by a final thin space. Catchwords alone are the least trustworthy of all, and should not be employed except in cases of necessity: my observation has been that justifying by means of a thin space after the catchword was a fairly common operation. Finally, owing to the variable tightness with which the quarters of the forme could be locked up by the wedges, some normal differential, usually of about a millimeter, is often encountered between type-pages set in the same stick. These are severe difficulties, and for some pages are often serious enough to make measurement untrustworthy when variation between sticks is slight and the compositors did not set according to a reasonably fixed pattern.

The most elementary and easily discerned cases which can

be determined by measurement occur when (a) a book is divided in half between two compositors and each simultaneously sets his portion; (b) printing of a book is so materially interrupted that when work is resumed a different measure is inadvertently employed. When running-titles are present, the basic fact of division is ordinarily demonstrable without requiring the evidence of measurement except as a corroboration. A book in which one complete portion is printed with a certain set or sets of running-titles and another portion with a completely different set or sets has manifestly been printed in different skeleton-formes. However, these books are useful for demonstrating the validity of the evidence provided by the printer's measure since the two portions are not always set with a different number of lines per page or with a different font. Moreover, the measure alone can sometimes decide whether (a) or (b) above obtained with a given book.

A typical example is John Crowne's *Calisto* (1675), in which simultaneous two-section printing is demonstrated by the faulty casting-off of copy which resulted in the second press beginning with sheet H although subsequently the first press concluded its section with sheet F. This simultaneous setting and printing is also indicated by the running-titles, which are in lower-case in sheets B-F but in full capitals in sheets H-L. Although the font remains the same, the measurement of the type-page in the first section is 36 lines, 169(182) x 113, 94R, and of the second section 38 lines, 179(190) x 109 mm.

Running-titles are not always present, however, to indicate such a division, and in these cases the type-page measurement may be the only available evidence. Thus in Abraham Bailey's *The Spightful Sister* (1667), which is without running-titles, one observes that the text in sheets B-E is set with a printer's measure of 113 mm., but from sig. F₁ to the end of the book on sig. I₄^r the measure jumps to 130 mm.

A question often arises whether a book has been simultaneously set in two sections, or whether the break between

two portions, as indicated by the type measurement, is only a sign of an interruption in the *seriatim* printing, or else of another compositor taking over not necessarily after a delay. In some cases the same sets of running-titles, and thus the same skeleton-formes, continue regularly throughout a book although at one point there is a shift in the measure which indicates composition by a different workman. A typical book is Peter Bellon's *The Mock-Duellist* (1675), which is printed with two skeleton-formes per sheet, these same two skeletons being maintained throughout; yet sheets B-F are set with a 120 mm. measure and sheets G-I with a measure of 121 mm. In such a book the inference is probably that with sheet G another compositor, who intended to set his stick to the same measure, took over the work. In general, one is likely to conjecture that any interruption of the printing sufficient to cause a single compositor to adjust his stick again after working on some other book would most likely have been sufficient to cause the skeleton-formes to be broken up—but in many books only the conjecture is possible.

However, there is a kind of evidence which can be used decisively in two-section books without running-titles or in books where a change in running-titles and thus in skeleton-formes indicates the possibility either of simultaneous two-section printing or else of a marked interruption in the printing. In a first edition, especially, the normal inference is usually that separate preliminaries were printed as the final operation. For certain first editions reasonable demonstration of this fact can be made, as when an errata list is present in the preliminaries, or when the text begins on A₁ or else on B₁ but with preliminaries occupying more than one gathering. In some two-section books the evidence is singularly neat. Thus in *Calisto*, mentioned above, the three-sheet preliminaries signed A⁴ a-b⁴ were set in the 109 mm. measure used to print sheets H-L but not B-F, and thus one can safely infer what the signing would lead one to expect, that these sheets were machined after the last

sheet of the text had been wrought off, in this case by the second press.

There is still an ambiguity in such books, however, for this pattern could also result when there had been an interruption, or when without interruption a second workman or press had been substituted.² When, on the other hand, in a two-section book one finds that the compositor setting the first section also set the preliminaries, somewhat less question can arise, for unless the preliminaries were set and printed first, this allocation of composition could result only when a book was simultaneously printed. In Thomas Southerne's *Oroonoko* (1696), for instance, the text begins on B and the preliminaries are confined to sheet A. On sig. E1 we find the measure changing from the 111 mm. of sheets B-D to the 113 mm. measure of sheets E-M. Here the case at first sight is not certain, since the markedly unequal division of the book seems to militate against simultaneous setting in two sections; and lacking other evidence one might be led to suspect that the appearance of the 111 mm. measure in sheet A should be accounted for by the view that the preliminaries were printed first, even though the book is a first edition. Yet other evidence suggests simultaneous printing.³

On the other hand, when a book seems to have been broken rather neatly in half between two compositors, and the compositor of the first section set the separate preliminaries, the evidence is all in favor of simultaneous printing. This is the case with *The Spightful Sister*, where the text division is B-E and F-I, or four sheets to each compositor, with half-sheet A

2. For example, in Bellon's *Mock-Duellist*, mentioned above, the preliminaries were set by the second workman, who was conjectured to have substituted for the first towards the end of the book but without interrupting printing.

3. Watermark evidence may be useful in two-section printing. In *Oroonoko* a different water-

mark appears in sheets A-D from that in E-M. This watermark division might also develop if there had been an interruption between D and E, but when, as here, no indication of such a work stoppage is found, the evidence rather supports the hypothesis that two presses simultaneously printing different parts of the book had different lots of paper laid out for them.

set by the first. Another example is Rochester's *Valentinian* (1685), divided B-G and H-M, the three sheets of the preliminaries also being set by the compositor of the B-G section.

Some rather odd books offer the most positive evidence. Occasionally in two-section simultaneous printing one press would assist the other in cleaning up the job. A first-rate example is John Crowne's *The Married Beau* (1694) in which the text division is B-F, the type-page measuring 46 lines, 187(198) x 108 mm.; and G-K, the type-page being 47 lines, 190(201) x 115 mm. Gathering F consists of three leaves, the fourth having been excised. The preliminaries require the four-leaf sheet signed A plus an unsigned disjunct fifth leaf. When we find sheet A set with the 115 mm. measure used for G-K, but the disjunct preliminary leaf set with the 108 mm. measure used in B-F, and when we also find that the pagination of the book skips from 38 on F₃ to 41 on G₁, the case is clear. The book was simultaneously printed in two parts, with the second press printing sheet A but the first press machining the odd preliminary leaf as F₄, its text copy not being sufficiently extensive to fill the four leaves of final sheet F.

Another and more complicated example is found in Thomas Southerne's *The Disappointment* (1684) in which the original assignment to two presses had been text sheets B-E and F-I. Gathering E is composed of three leaves, the first two conjugate and set in the measure used for sheets F-I; but sig. E₃, disjunct, is set in the different measure used for B-D and also for preliminary sheet A, this last having its fourth leaf excised. The highly irregular gathering E has been mistaken for a cancellans, but a rather complex chain of bibliographical evidence can be constructed to show that the first press was delayed in its printing between sheets C and D, and though gathering E had originally been assigned to it (the second section clearly having started printing with F), to finish the book expeditiously the second press swung over after printing sheet I and the two presses joined to print E. The second press machined

E_{1.2} by half-sheet imposition while the first press was printing sig. E₃ in the A₄ position of the preliminaries.⁴

Evidence as to the measure becomes more difficult when the preliminaries consist only of a disjunct title-leaf or a half-sheet with preliminary text set in a short measure. However, records I have kept of several hundred books show that in most cases the title-page was set in the same stick used for the text (or for the rest of the preliminaries), and thus that its measure will ordinarily be the same. When, in order to give room for large display type, the title seems to have been set directly in page galley and with an abnormally wide measure, often one will find, as in Dryden's *The Indian Emperour* (1681), that the imprint has been composed in the printer's text stick and therefore can be compared with the measure in other parts of the book. In other cases when the whole title and imprint seem to have been set in a longer stick than that used elsewhere in the book, preliminaries like dedications, forewords, *dramatis personæ*, and so on will usually conform in measure to one or other section of the text. If, on the contrary, as in John Bancroft's *Henry the Second* (1693), the separate preliminaries and title are set in a different measure from the text, we may suppose—according to their nature—either that they were set last after some delay or, as with the second edition of Dryden's *The Spanish Fryar* (1686), that setting of the book began with the preliminaries but a larger measure was employed to squeeze rather extensive material into one sheet. In reverse, we find Dryden's *The Rival Ladies* (1693), the title, preliminaries, and first two pages of text (B_{2-2'}) set in a 117 mm. measure, but on B₃ the measure shifting to the 126 mm. used thereafter.

Sometimes rather interesting facts about the printing may be deduced from the study of the printer's stick. The first edition of Thomas Shadwell's *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688) shows a printer beginning with the typographical plan of a page meas-

4. This interesting book is analyzed in detail in my "The Supposed CANCEL in Southerne's *The Disappointment* Reconsidered," forthcoming in *The Library*.

uring 38 lines, 176(189) x 110, 93.6R, and setting sigs. B1-C1 according to this layout. Then, since the play is a long one, he apparently felt the need to expand his page to save paper and presswork, and set C2-4^v as 39 lines, 180(194) x 115 mm.⁵ Presumably he then found the page too crowded, since with sig. D1 he kept the longer measure but settled on 38 lines and the original vertical type-page opening of 176(189) mm.

The anonymous play *The Triumphs of Virtue* (1697) is unfortunately without the running-titles which might assist in solving its printing, but the facts of its typography may supply some bases for conjecture. The book is a quarto signed A-H⁴ and paged 1-4 5 7 6 8-40 33-55 56 [=64]. The pagination numerals in the headlines are in smaller type in sheets E-H than in A-D. The type-page in A-D measures 44 lines, 182(193) x 108, 82.6R; that in sheet E, 44 lines, 178(188) x 113, 80.8R; that in F-H, 47 lines, 192(202) x 118, 80.1R. The pagination suggests that the book was originally planned to be split between two presses in sections A-E and F-H, and that the second press beginning with sig. F1 paged it 33 on the assumption that pagination would start with page 1 on sig. B1, whereas in fact it begins on sig. A3 with page 5. Although one might be tempted to conjecture that the smaller font was adopted by the first compositor in order to compress into the single sheet E rather more copy than had been allowed for in the casting-off, the change in the measure and also in the whole type-page opening (thus presumably in the skeleton-formes) militates against this view. Since the size of the pagination figures in the headlines associates sheet E, instead, with imposition by the compositor of the second section, one might apply the same theory to him, but again the measurements do not encourage this attempt. One fact is clear, at any rate: although sheet E had originally been assigned to the first press, actually the second compositor imposed it, the machining taking place

5. This alteration in the type-page opening would require adjustment of the furniture in three of the quarters in both the formes. Just possibly another compositor cut in here.

after the conclusion of the F-H section (as indicated by the pagination). One may possibly speculate that the completely different typography of sheet E, showing the construction of a new skeleton-forme, may have resulted from the confusion of the pagination between the two sections, so that when the first compositor came to page 40 (D_{4r}) he believed he had joined the two sections of the book, since sheet F of press two began with page 41. Only very much later, when the sheets were actually collated—perhaps even for binding—was it discovered that a sheet of text had, in truth, not been set, and thus sheet E may have been composed and printed at a considerably later time to complete the book, certainly at a time after the original skeleton-formes had been broken up.

Important as it is for a study of the presswork to identify the compositors of two or more contiguous sections of a book, one of the more striking examples of the usefulness of the printer's measure occurs when this evidence assists in identifying the compositor and also the place of printing for cancels and other separate material originally imposed elsewhere in one forme. Under most circumstances the evidence of the measure alone is not decisive, but certainly a study of cancels shows that the odds are against any material added to a book at a later date than the original printing being set in an identical type-page opening, but more especially in precisely the same measure.⁶ Thus the fact that the measure of cancellans leaf G₁ in Dryden's *The Indian Emperour* (1667) is that for the rest of the book assists in the belief that it was printed as leaf K₄, missing in the seven recorded American copies. Just so, the measure makes it a certainty (evidence of running-titles here assisting) that disjunct sig. E₃ of Southerne's *The Disappointment* was printed by the first press as leaf A₄ and excised from the preliminaries to be

6. However, these odds occasionally come up. For example, the reset cancellans title for the Bentley-Chapman reissue of the Knight-Saunders 1687 edition of Davenant's adaptation of *Macbeth* is set in the same measure as

the original title although it could not have been printed as a part of the original sheets. This is most uncharacteristic for a separately machined reset cancellans leaf.

bound in its proper position. Similarly, although in this case the fact can be proved by an aberrant copy, there would have been strong reason to conjecture that the 1681 cancel title-leaf for Crowne's *The Misery of Civil War* (1680), which transformed it into the reissue *Henry the Sixth: The Second Part*, was printed as leaf K₄ of *Henry the Sixth: The First Part* (1681) since the cancel title was set to the 114 mm. measure used in that book. For these reasons Dr. Philip Williams in his "The 'Second Issue' of *Troilus and Cressida*, 1609," earlier in this present volume, found the fact that the cancel fold in the quarto was printed in the same measure as the text very comforting to buttress the evidence of the running-titles that this same fold, and not a part of some other book, was the material which was undoubtedly printed in the same formes with half-sheet M.

We come, finally, to an unexplored and difficult use of the measure as bibliographical evidence. As Dr. Charlton Hinman first demonstrated,⁷ his results later being confirmed by Dr. Philip Williams,⁸ spelling tests can be applied with some certainty to distinguish the work of different compositors setting a book *seriatim* in relay. In this connection, the printer's measure can usefully be employed on some fortunate occasions as powerful corroborative evidence, and it may even become primary evidence when on disputed pages the spelling tests are ambiguous or when, as in the later seventeenth century, the growing uniformity of spelling may make spelling tests of doubtful value. The prime difficulty of the evidence of the measure lies in the fact that when the two sticks were not in perfect adjustment, the variation between them is sometimes no more than one millimeter, although less difficulty is encountered when the variation is two millimeters or the seeming maximum three millimeters.⁹ Moreover, uneven shrinkage in

7. "Principles Governing the Use of Variant Spellings as Evidence of Alternate Setting by Two Compositors," *The Library*, 4th ser., xxi (1940), 78-94.

8. "The Compositor of the 'Pied Bull'

Leaf," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society, University of Virginia*, 1 (1948-49), 61-68.

9. As indicated above, these tolerances were sufficient to go undetected, and type-pages set in such slightly varying measures could readily

the paper may cause apparent variation to upset one's calculations, as well as uneven pressure from the wedges.

As a test of the validity of this evidence, I chose of the three quartos analyzed by Dr. Williams those two which are available in photographic reproduction, Shakespeare's 'Pied Bull' *Lear* (1608),¹⁰ and Robert Armin's *The History of the Two Maids of More-clack* (1609),¹¹ both printed by Nicholas Okes. Within a slight non-significant variation without pattern and apparently dependent on the tightness of the wedges, the short and long measures in *Lear* of 80 and 93 mm. are constantly maintained, and this corresponds with Dr. Williams's spelling evidence demonstrating beyond all question that only one of Okes's two compositors set this play.

In *The Two Maids of More-clack* Dr. Williams found that the usual pattern was for compositor *B* to set \$1-2^v of each sheet, and compositor *A* \$3-4^v. Measurements disclose that compositor *B* used a measure of 88-89 mm. whereas compositor *A* used a measure of 90-91 mm. From sheet C on, these measures coincide precisely with the identification of the two compositors by spelling tests save in the two instances, sigs. H₃ and H_{4v}, where Dr. Williams felt the trend of the spelling evidence enforced breaking the pattern and assigning H₃ and H_{4v} to compositor *B*, although they would normally have constituted part of *A*'s assignment. Since in both these pages the 90-91 mm. measure indicates that *A* actually set these pages and that the regular pattern was maintained in this sheet, the evidence of the printer's stick proves a useful counterweight as a check on spelling tests in cases of doubt. Although the check of measure against spelling as an identification is invariable in sheets C-I except for these two pages, there is some difficulty in sheets A and B;¹² nevertheless, the consistency with which the evi-

be imposed in the same skeleton-formes, the wedges taking up the slack and making no adjustment of the furniture necessary.

10. *Shakespeare Quarto Facsimiles No. 1* (*Shakespeare Association: London, 1939*).

11. *Tudor Facsimile Texts* (*London, 1913*).

12. Dr. Williams divides sheet A irregularly,

dence of the measure operates in the other seven and a half sheets in the book demonstrates that it can be highly effective.

Some results accrue when the evidence of the measure is applied to Restoration play quartos where spelling tests would be doubtful. Crowne's *The Country Wit* (1693) is a difficult book because it is hard to decide whether certain variations of a millimeter in one compositor's measure are non-significant, or whether they represent the stick of a third compositor. If we take the more difficult but probable view that three compositors were associated with this book, we find that compositor *I* with a measure of 120-121 mm. set both formes of sheet A (which contains text as well as prelims) and then dropped out for two sheets. Compositor *II*, with a measure of 122 mm., then took over and set both formes of sheet B. The third compositor *III*, with a measure of 123 mm. seems to have set C₁₋₂, and thereupon *II* and *III* alternate, *II* apparently setting C_{2v-3v}, *III* C₄, and *II* C_{4v}. Compositor *I* returns to set both formes of sheet D, followed by *II* setting both formes of sheet E. Compositor *III*, enters with F₁₋₂ and F_{4-4v}, *II* interposing with F_{2v-3}. Compositor *I* set G_{1-3v} and perhaps the rest of G although *II* seems to have composed G₄ and just possibly G_{4v}. Gathering H, very curiously (since this is a second edition), is only a single leaf and is set by *III*. Perhaps there was confusion in imposition even though the pagination is continuous: it may be significant that with the re-entrance of compositor *I* on G₁ the two skele-

assigning A_{1v-2} and A_{3v-4v} to compositor *A*, and the remaining A₁ and A_{2v-3} to compositor *B*. This might look suspiciously like casting-off copy and setting by formes (if A_{4v} could be transferred to *B*), but the 90-91 mm. measure found in all eight type-pages would indicate that compositor *A* set this sheet entire; and on close examination Dr. Williams's spelling criteria are seen to be somewhat indefinite for the pages assigned to *B*. Real trouble occurs in sheet B, however, which Dr. Williams divides between the two compositors in the regular manner found in subsequent sheets.

Yet with the exception of sig. B₃ where the measure is perhaps doubtful and could be that of compositor *A*, the measure of B_{3-4v} is certainly 88-89 mm. and therefore associated with compositor *B*, who had definitely set B_{1-2v} in this same measure, the spelling tests agreeing for these earlier pages. I do not pretend to be able to explain this aberration, since in the disputed pages the spelling very strongly suggests compositor *A*. I hesitate to conjecture that in this one instance (as possibly in the preceding sheet if the spelling tests there are really precise) the stick passed from hand to hand, but perhaps it did.

tons which had printed each sheet of the book exchange their formes in sheet G, this arrangement carrying over to sheet I. At any rate, compositor *II* set I₁₋₂ and *III* concluded the book with I₃₋₄. I cannot guarantee the absolute accuracy of every page of this assignment since the tolerances are sometimes very fine between compositors *II* and *III*; but this is what I make of the Harvard copy, and I am inclined to believe that a pattern develops which is accurate in the main and which is not consonant with a reasonably exact identification of compositors. In the Harvard copy the paper of sheets D and G, set by compositor *I*, seems to differ from that in the rest of the book.

From several other plays Thomas D'Urfey's *A Fond Husband* (1677) may be selected. Here a fairly regular pattern is established of about four to five type-pages apiece between two compositors in relay using measures of 112 mm. and 113 mm. respectively. This play is especially interesting because, although it is a first edition and thus set from manuscript, the evidence of the measure seems to indicate that for the first two text sheets (possibly to get formes as quickly as possible at the start to the waiting press or presses) the compositors cast off copy and set by formes. Thus the 112 mm. measure set the outer formes of sheets B and C, and the 113 mm. measure the inner formes. Thereupon they begin to alternate, the 113 mm. measure beginning by composing most of sheet D, both formes.

The evidential value of the measure is not invariable for there are numerous books almost certainly set by two compositors whose sticks were so nearly equalized that measurement cannot distinguish them. Negatively, therefore, the evidence must always be equated with that of the presswork as shown by running-titles, or as Allan Stevenson has demonstrated,¹³ by watermarks, before an invariant measure may be

13. "New Uses of Watermarks as Bibliographical Evidence," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society, University of Virginia*, I (1948-49), 151-182. Printing by two presses must necessarily require the services of two compositors.

taken as indicating the presence of only one compositor, spelling tests not having been applied.¹⁴ When, however, positive evidence is available that two measures were used in the composition of a book, the analytical bibliographer may find the information thus gained to be of considerable value in any number of unsuspected ways to which his ingenuity may lead him.¹⁵

14. The determination of the precise spelling criteria which may be used as distinguishing features of the work of two compositors and then the application of these tests to any given book is an extremely onerous task which may on occasion be lightened by at least a tentative assignment of pages between compositors on the evidence of their measures.

15. Since a study of the characteristics of the compositors of a book is necessary before a

textual critic can emend with any certainty, the working bibliographer owes it to the critic to analyze a book with the maximum precision in preparing it for criticism. Every available technique should be exploited, therefore, and among these it is possible that in certain cases the extension of the ways in which this evidence of the printer's measure may be employed and the results interpreted will prove of considerable value.

Bibliographica

THE PUBLICATION OF STEELE'S CONSCIOUS LOVERS

THE accessible accounts concerning the publication of Sir Richard Steele's *Conscious Lovers* are confused and conflicting. These accounts should be clarified, not only because the date of publication is generally incorrectly given but especially because in his interesting current biography Willard Connely unintentionally reflected upon Steele's honesty by showing Sir Richard selling to Lintot rights which he had already sold to the Tonsons:

The keen Bernard Lintot, hearing that revivals of both 'The Funeral' and 'The Tender Husband' were in rehearsal at the King's Theatre, darted to Steele's house with 14 gns. in hand for rights to reprint the two old plays. The revival prospered. Lintot strengthened holdings he already possessed in the new comedy forthcoming [*The Conscious Lovers*] by paying Sir Richard £70 more.¹

Although Steele desperately needed cash, he did not sell the same copyright to both the Tonsons and Lintot. Instead, Lintot paid these sums

1. Willard Connely, *Sir Richard Steele* (New York, 1934), pp. 399-400. Mr. Connely was misled by a manuscript note in Francis Grant's *Scrapbook of Printed Matter Relating to Sir Richard Steele*, p. 16 (now at Harvard): "Lintot's Accounts . . . March 1722. £25 for $\frac{1}{2}$ of Sir R. Steele's Comedy that was to be published. (*Conscious Lovers*) Oct. 26, 1722. £70 for assignment of half of the *Conscious Lovers*. These £25 and £70 were probably paid to old Jacob Tonson who was the publisher of Steele's

plays. Oct. 10, 1722. £14.14 to print 1500 copies of the *Funeral*, and the *Tender Husband*." If Grant got his data from Nichols' *Anecdotes*, one wonders why he had to guess about the recipient, unless he was trying to distinguish between the two Lintots. Mr. Connely, knowing that old Jacob Tonson was at Ledbury in the fall of 1722, correctly inferred that on 20 October 1722 Lintot could not have paid him. But he did pay Jacob Tonson, Jr.

to the Tonsons, not to Steele.² In publishing *The Conscious Lovers*, Steele dealt only with the Tonsons. In the original agreement he assigned the play to Jacob Tonson, Jr., in return for £40 "in hand" and "divers other good Causes and Consideracions":

I Do ... Sell Assign & Sett over Unto the said Jacob Tonson All that the Sole Right & Title of in & to the Copy of a Comedy Intituled The Fine Gentleman (or The Unfashionable Lover's, or Conscious Lover's,) or by whatever other Name (or Names) the said Comedy shall (or may) be called wth said Copy of the said Comedy to be & remain Unto the said Jacob Tonson his heires & assigns for ever. In Witness whereof I have herunto Sett my hand & Seal this 20th day of october 1722.

Sealed & Delivered

(being first duly Stamp'd)

Richard Steele [*seal*]

in the presence of

Somerset Draper

Edward: Thomas

(Edward Thomas is S^r Rich^{ds} Serv^t).³

That these "divers other good Causes and Consideracions" were not a previous money payment seems probable, for in a Chancery pleading of December, 1722, Tonson deposed that for the copyright of *The Conscious Lovers* he had paid Steele £40 "and other valuable considerations."⁴ Had Tonson made previous cash payments it would have been to his advantage to cite them. But by the spring of 1722 Steele must have reached some tentative understanding with Tonson, for on 1 March 1722 Lintot had agreed with Tonson for "the Half of Sir R. Steele's Comedy that was to be published," and paid him £25.⁵

A few days after he purchased the copyright from Steele, Tonson on 26 October 1722 made an "assignment" to Lintot of "the Half of the Conscious

2. John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, XIII (London, 1814), 303. Nichols printed his list from "a small Memorandum-book of these enterprising Booksellers [the Lintots], intituled, 'copies when purchased.'"

3. This agreement, now in the Widener Library, is reprinted by the kind permission of Harvard University, which also permitted the use of the Grant Scrapbook. At this time Somerset Draper was presumably an employee in the Tonsons' publishing house. Between 1743 and

1753 he was a bookseller and publisher in London. H. R. Plomer et al., *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers, 1726-1775* (Bibliographical Society, 1932), p. 79. By 1751 he had purchased a share in the copy of this very play.

4. George A. Aitken, "Steele's 'Conscious Lovers' and the Publishers," *The Athenaeum*, No. 3345, (5 December 1891), p. 771, citing Chancery Pleadings, Winter, 1714-58, No. 690.

5. Nichols, *loc. cit.*

Lovers, for £70."⁶ These two transactions between Lintot and Tonson are somewhat puzzling, especially since according to Aitken, "In February, 1718, Lintot entered into an agreement with Tonson to be equally concerned in all the plays they should buy after eighteen months following the date of agreement." This £70, or £95,⁷ seems rather a high price for a partner to pay for his half of a copyright purchased from the author for £40 and undefined considerations. Moreover, it seems unlikely that the £70 was payment for half the copies of the printed play. Lintot's notation "An Assignment for the Half of the Conscious Lovers" is not the usual notation for half a printing; and surely Tonson did not rush the play through the press in six days, then withhold publication for more than a month. Although Steele probably exacted a promise that publication should be delayed until after the first run of the play, the opening performance was scheduled for November 7. An additional indication that the play could hardly have been printed by October 26 is the fact that in his Preface and his Dedication to the King, Steele announced with pride that his play had been "supported and encouraged" and "received with universal Acceptance, for it was in every Part excellently performed."

But the actual agreement between Lintot and Tonson, as ambiguously recorded by Lintot, was "to be equally concerned in all the Plays they should buy, Eighteen Months following the above Date [16 February, 1718]."⁸ Evidently their blanket agreement had lapsed by 1722, and the original £25 paid Tonson as an "Agreement for the Half of Sir R. Steele's Comedy" was a preliminary and partial payment. On October 26, as Lintot's memorandum book shows, Tonson and Lintot reached a final agreement about *The Conscious Lovers*.⁹

On the last day of the phenomenal run of eighteen successive performances, ending 27 November 1722, *The Conscious Lovers* was finally announced for publication on December 1, and it duly appeared on that day,⁹ although with a title-page post-dated 1723.

6. *Idem*. In his edition of Steele's plays published by T. Fisher Unwin in 1894, Aitken combined these transactions: "As early as March 1, 1772, Lintot has agreed to give Tonson £70 for a half share of Steele's comedy that was to be published." The "1772" misprint was allowed to persist in later printings of this *Mermaid* edition.

7. It is not clear whether the £70 included the £25 paid earlier.

8. Half of the copyright of *The Tender Husband* was evidently included in the bargain, for

immediately following the memorandum of *The Conscious Lovers* is the notation "Half of the Copy of the Tender Husband."

9. It was advertised for publication in *The Post Boy* from November 27-29, and the number for December 1 announced, "This day is published *The Conscious Lovers*." Grant, *Scrapbook*, p. 82. *The Daily Courant* also carried this announcement: George Aitken, *The Life of Richard Steele* (Boston, 1889), II, 276. In the early histories and hand-books of the drama *The Conscious Lovers* is regularly dated 1721. In his *Bibliography Britannica* Watt even moved

THE | Conscious Lovers. | A | COMEDY. | As it is Acted at the |
 Theatre Royal in *Drury-Lane*, | By His MAJESTY's Servants. | [rule] |
 Written by | Sir RICHARD STEELE. | [rule] | *Illud Genus Narrationis,*
quod in personis positum est, | debet habere Sermonis Festivitatem, Animorum
Dissi|militudinem, Gravitatem, Lenitatem, Spem, Metum, | Suspicionem,
Desiderium, Dissimulationem, Misericordiam, Rerum, Varierates, Fortuna
Commutationem, | Insperatum Incommodum, Subitam Letitiam, Jucundum |
Exitum Rerum. Cic. Rhetor. ad Herenn. Lib. i. | [rule] | LONDON:
 Printed for J. Tonson at *Shakespear's Head* over|against *Katharine-Street*
 in the *Strand*. 1723.

8°: A-F⁸ G⁴; 52 leaves, pp. [i6] 1 2-86 87-88.

[i], title; [ii], blank; [iii-viii], Dedication, To the King, signed
 Richard Steele, n. d.; [ix-xiii], The Preface; [xiv-xv], Prologue by Mr.
 Welsted, Spoken by Mr. Wilks; [xvi], Dramatis Personae; 1-86, text;
 87-88, Epilogue by Mr. Welsted, Intended to be Spoken by *Indiana*.

The Epilogue actually spoken at the performance was prefixed to the second edition of Benjamin Victor's *An Epistle to Sir Richard Steele, on his Play called The Conscious Lovers*, published 4 December 1722, and was printed four days later in *The British Journal*.¹⁰ It has probably never been printed with the play.

Of their edition of "many thousand," "a good part" had been sold when the publishers were threatened with a piratical edition. This edition, advertised for 8 December 1722, was, according to Tonson, to be sold by Francis Clifton, Robert Tooke, John Lightbody, and Susanna Collins. Their ventures were indeed not above suspicion. Clifton was a Catholic, and the other three were classed by Negus among the High Fliers, or Jacobites. All except "Lightbody" (or Lightboy), and possibly even he, printed in the Old Bailey. Clifton was continually in trouble for printing attacks against the government.¹¹ However Susanna Collins was, according to her quondam employee Thomas Gent, a good hearted "ancient gentlewoman."¹² Immediately instituting proceedings in Chancery Court, Tonson deposed that he

it back to 1720. Even after Aitken fixed the precise date scholars have continued to err. In the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* and in Allardyce Nicoll's *XVIII Century Drama* (Cambridge, 1925), p. 357, it is assigned the date on the title-page, 1723. In his *Publishing and Bookselling* (London, 1930), p. 178, F. A. Mumby moved it up to December, 1723.

10. Francis Grant, *Scrapbook*, p. 83.

11. Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, 1 (London, 1812), 289, 305, 312.

12. Thomas Gent, *Life* (London, 1832), pp. 143-44. Susanna, or Susannah Collins is not listed in Plomer's *Dictionary* and was incorrectly identified by Nichols. She lived in Black and White Court until her death 2 June 1724.

had obtained the copyright from Steele by deed-poll on October 20 and had duly entered his copy in the *Stationers' Register*. Yet Clifton and Susanna Collins had "procured or bought one of the printed copies of the Comedy, and had caused several copies to be printed without consent." Under the Copyright Act of 8 Queen Anne he prayed for an injunction. This he obtained on 11 December 1722, after Tooke alone answered proceedings and denied complicity.¹³

But piratical editions from other sources Tonson could not prevent. In December there appeared at Dublin an octavo edition.¹⁴ Another edition dated 1723 was published by "T. Johnson: London,"¹⁵ and a duodecimo edition for the same year is listed by Nicoll.¹⁶ Despite these piracies printed outside the publishers' reach, however, Tonson and Lintot did not lose by their venture. One of the most popular plays of its day, *The Conscious Lovers* by 1791 reached its fifteenth edition.

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13. G. A. Aitken, "Steele's 'Conscious Lovers,'" citing Chancery Pleadings, Winter, 1714-1758, No. 690 and Chancery Decrees 1722 B, 30, 33, 114.

14. At least it is dated 1722 on the title-page. In his *Life of Richard Steele*, II, 391, Aitken cites a copy in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

15. This was presumably published by the same T. Johnson who about 1710 or 1711 published in ten volumes "A Collection of the Best English Plays, printed for T. Johnson, Bookseller at the Hague," including, for

example, Steele's *Funeral*. Whether this T. Johnson ever published in London seems problematical. Some of these volumes bear the imprint "LONDON," and in 1742 a T. Johnson was issuing pamphlets from near Christ's Hospital in Newgate Street. But a Thomas Johnson, probably the same T. Johnson who reprinted plays, was in 1735 a bookseller at Rotterdam. H. R. Plomer et al., *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers from 1726 to 1775*, p. 142.

16. Nicoll, *loc. cit.* Nicoll hazards the Hague as the place of publication.

A LONG USE OF A SETTING OF TYPE

News of the Savoy Conference and of the planning of a new revision of the Bible brought a money-making idea into the business-like mind of John Speed. He acted upon it with little delay and was soon hard at work, probably with the help of the great Hebrew scholar, Hugh Broughton, preparing a table, *The Genealogies Recorded in the Holy Scriptures . . . with the Line of Our Saviour, Jesus Christ*, which he believed would prove a valuable supplement to the new versions of the Bible. King James was no doubt pleased by the emphasis which Speed placed upon the royal descent of the Saviour and on October 31, 1610, granted him the right to print and to insert into every edition of the Authorized Version of the Bible his *Genealogie* and a Map of

Canaan.¹ On February 4, 1617, this special license was renewed to Speed for seven years.² Speed died on July 28, 1629. In 1638, his privilege (which had been renewed) and his blocks were bought by the Stationers' Company.³

Speed prepared editions of his *Genealogies* and Map for every format in which the Bible was printed. In physical form each edition of the *Genealogies* consisted of a series of engraved wood-blocks and several pages of letter-press. To print them Speed employed John Beale (who at first had as a partner, William Hall) and, later, John Dawson. The printer no doubt ran off large numbers of copies in the required formats which stationers purchased to complete the sheets of the Bibles which they procured from Barker or his assigns, Norton and Bill. It is probable at other times that Barker or his assigns bought copies of the *Genealogies* from Speed or his heirs and completed Bibles before selling them to stationers.

How many *Genealogies* were printed is still impossible to estimate. S.T.C. has lumped all editions and issues of Speed's *Genealogies* under one number—23039.

We are concerned here with but one of the octavo editions. It is made up of two sheets and two quarter-sheets and signed A-B⁸, C-D². With the exception of four pages, it is composed of engraved blocks which bear on sigs. Cr^v and C2^r the engraver's mark of a member of the van Sichem family—probably Christoffel van Sichem, the younger. Four pages are in letter-press: The first page (the title-page), the second page ("To the Christian Reader"), and—on the back of the Map—two pages of topographical matter entitled "Description of Canaan", sig. Cr^r and C2^v.

The printer saved the cost of the composition by keeping these four pages of type tied up (stored, no doubt, with the blocks) and using the same setting of type to print the letter-press of successive issues of the *Genealogies*. He made necessary changes in the date on the title-page—usually a change of but one numeral. Accidents also introduced a few small differences between issues as the printing proceeded.

This I conclude from reports which Mr. Herman R. Mead, of the Huntington Library (HN), Dr. William H. Bond of the Harvard Library (HD), Miss E. L. Paford of the Pierpont Morgan Library (PML), and Mr. Lewis M. Stark of the New York Public Library (NY)—to all of whom I here record my hearty thanks—have sent me, along with information which I was able to obtain from Folger Shakespeare Library (FOLG) copies.

1. British and Foreign Bible Society, *Historical Catalogue*, compiled by T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule (London, 1903-11), I, 135, no. 24.

2. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, p. 431.

3. W. A. Jackson, *The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library* (New York, 1940), I, 73.

My correspondents made their reports by comparing copies in their libraries with photostats from a Folger copy and noting agreements and differences.

That the same setting of type was used to print the letter-press of issues of an octavo of Speed's *Genealogies* from at least as early as 1631 and until at least as late as 1640, may be seen by the following table. The first item of it is the date on the title page of each reported issue of the *Genealogies*. This is followed by symbols of the libraries reporting the issue and the S.T.C. number of the Bible or other book with which it is bound.

N.d.	HN 2296†
1631	HN 2296††
1633	NY 2311; NY 2314; PML 2314
1634	HD 2324; HD 2314
1635	HD 2318
1636	FOLG 16408; HD Bible, 1642
1637	NY 2328
1638	PML 2329; HD 2329; NY 2324; NY 2337; FOLG 25140; HN 2337
1640	NY 2342

More issues of this edition of Speed's *Genealogies*, printed from this setting of type could probably be found. The printers of the *Genealogies*, also, almost certainly used this method of printing the letter-press portion of other formats of the work. But at this time I am content merely to call attention to a long use of setting of type.

EDWIN ELIOTT WILLOUGHBY

A NOTE ON KING LEAR, III.ii.1-3

THE publication of G. I. Duthie's new edition of *King Lear*, an attempt to produce a critical old-spelling text as near as possible to that which Shakespeare wrote,¹ has raised a problem in the punctuation of the opening lines of the second scene of Act III. Although in various places he has admitted emendations from modern editors, in these particular lines Mr. Duthie has preferred the First Folio punctuation, and hence the particular meaning derived, to the punctuation as emended by editors from Pope to the present. Since the question of Shakespeare's intention in these lines has thus been reopened, it may be advisable to examine the evidence for the original

1. *Shakespeare's King Lear* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1949), p. 3.

and the emended punctuation, and the two resultant interpretations of the meaning of these lines, to discover which should be nearer to Shakespeare's probable original.²

The text of the opening lines appears in the first or 'Pied Bull' Quarto thus:

Blow wind & cracke your cheekeſ, rage, blow
You caterickes, & Hircanios ſpout til you haue drencht,
The ſteeples drown'd the cockes, . . .

In the First Folio there are certain alterations and the mislineation is corrected, but the first line remains run-on:

Blow windes, & crack your cheecks; Rage, blow
You Cataracts, and Hyrricano's ſpout,
Till you haue drench'd our Steeples, drown the Cockes.

The meaning seems to be, accordingly: 'blow you cataracts' and at the same time 'spout you hurricanes.' (The reading *drown* for the Quarto *drown'd* is customarily taken as a compositor's misprint.)

Rowe (1709) was content to preserve this reading, but Pope's emendation (1723) of the punctuation for the first time end-stopped the line:

Blow winds, and crack your cheeks; rage, blow!
You cataracts, and hurricanoes Spout
Til you have drench't our steeples, drown'd the cocks!

Thus Pope would have the lines mean: 'blow, crack, rage, blow you winds' and 'spout you cataracts and hurricanes.' Theobald (1733) deleted the rhetorical comma after 'cataracts' and substituted one after 'hurricanes'; and with a few minor differences in capitalization and in interchange of exclamation points with the semicolon and comma after 'cheeks' and 'rage,' all subsequent editors have followed this emendation by maintaining a full stop at the close of the first line.³ Such a problem is, of course, an uncomfortable one for an old-spelling editor, who must generally follow the reading

2. More than a quibble is involved. Mr. Duthie's text is in most respects so authoritative that future editors will very likely be inclined to use it as a basis for their own editions, in which case his reading of this passage may become perpetuated.

3. Hanmer (1744) reverts to Pope in the pointing of the second line; but for editors following Theobald, cf. Warburton (1747),

Johnson (1765), Capell (1767), Malone (1786), Morgan and Manning (1805), Boswell (1821), Dyce (1866), Furness (*Variorum*, 1871-80 and 1908), Hudson (1879), Rolfe (1880), Wright (*Cambridge*, 1892), Craig (1899), D. N. Smith (*Arden*, 1901), Lee (1906), Clark and Wright (1911), Bernbaum (*Arden*, 1917), Phelps (*Yale*, 1917), Kittredge (1936), and Harrison (1948).

of his copytext if it seems to make sufficiently good sense; yet in this case it is probable that Mr. Duthie has been over-conservative and has reprinted a corruption from the First Folio, which he chose as his copytext.

The question to be resolved is whether Pope's emendation is preferable to the 'authority' of the Quarto and First Folio, or whether Shakespeare wanted the sense of the concluding words of the first line to be carried over into the beginning of the second.

Whatever the punctuation, it would seem that Shakespeare in this passage had in mind the distinction from *Genesis* 7:11 between the floodgates of heaven (or cataracts) and the fountains of the deep (or hurricanoes), both of which were set in motion at the time of the Deluge.⁴ The crux is, whether he would then have taken the verb 'blow' and 'rage' with 'cataracts,' and 'spout' with 'hurricanoes': according to the Quarto and Folio, the cataracts of heaven would rage and blow while the waterspouts from the deeps inundated the land. The emended punctuation, on the contrary, causes the verb 'spout' to have the two subjects 'cataracts' and 'hurricanoes.' Editors with this latter situation in mind have regarded the two subjects as synonyms, both meaning waterspouts,⁵ although this duplicate meaning is by no means necessary or even probable.⁶

The disadvantages of the Folio reading, followed by Duthie, are three. (1) 'Blow' is not the verb which could be assigned with the greatest of propriety to a cascade of water. 'Rage,' of course, is quite applicable, but the immediate verb must be that one standing nearer its subject. 'Blow,' how-

4. Cf. the *Vulgata*, "... rupti sunt omnes fontes abyssi magnæ, et cataractæ cœli apertæ sunt" and the *Geneva* version, "... were all the fountaines of the great deepe broken vp, and the windowes of heauen were opened."

5. For example, the *NED* enters this passage under "cataract" and also under "hurricano" with a meaning of "waterspouts" for both. There is no question, at least, about the meaning of "hurricano" for Shakespeare, since the *NED* also quotes *Troilus and Cressida*, V.ii.172, in which Shakespeare defines hurricano as "the dreadful spout." "Cataract" in this period generally means in the Biblical sense the "floodgates of Heaven" though the waterspouts observed by the explorers in the tropics were so named also, probably because of their size and terrifying violence. "Hurricano" may also mean a violent storm and downpour from the clouds of water sucked up by the sun. If this were the precise gloss to the passage, the

reference to inundation from water originating in the ocean is not affected, however, nor the contrast with the waters from the heavenly cataracts.

6. For the common reference of cataract to the floodgates of heaven and the Deluge we may profitably recall the wording of the *Vulgata* (footnote 4 above) and the Septuagint, and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, XI.820-25. In another passage strikingly reminiscent of these lines in *Lear*, Milton in drawing an ironic parallel between Heaven and Hell again recalls the passage in *Genesis*: "... what if all / Her stores were op'n'd, and this Firmament / Of Hell should spout her Cataracts of Fire, / Impendent horrors. . ." (*Paradise Lost*, II. 174-77). It is interesting to find that in these lines indirectly based on the same passage in *Genesis* which is referred to in *Lear*, there are cataracts *spouting*. See also line 14 of this same scene in *Lear* in which occurs, "spout rain."

ever, is readily applicable to the winds of the first line and is used once for these winds. (2) By reading 'blow' with the second line, the combination of the three imperatives in the first line secured by the important suspension of the two last verbs 'rage, blow' is wholly lost. (3) If the line is allowed to run on, the *epanalepsis*, that is the repetition of the same word at the beginning and end of a line of verse,⁷ is so very considerably weakened that it is scarcely felt as a figure.

The traditional emendation providing the sequence 'spout you cataracts and hurricanoes' may now be examined. If cataracts and hurricanoes are both synonyms for waterspouts, the line may appear redundant. Yet the fact that the words may appear redundant to later critics is no indication that Shakespeare need have been averse to using both words. Both would appeal to the poet experimenting with the new language; stuffing or bombast perhaps they would be, but not without a splendidly effective sound and magnitude.

Nevertheless, it is most unlikely that he used them as redundancies: the passage in *Genesis* need not be a gloss restricted to the Folio's syntactical equation. Indeed, as Milton was later to demonstrate (see footnote 6 above), the imperative 'spout' can in *Lear* be most meaningfully directed to the floodgates of heaven, the cataracts, and to the fountains of the deep, the hurricanoes, so that Lear in a mighty image is calling for a second Deluge to wipe out the race of men by a joining of the waters of heaven and earth, both of which will share in the drowning of the land.

With this poetically more logical and significant meaning depending on emendation, we may return to the Folio text for an enquiry into the source of its probable corruption for these lines. In his extensive introduction Mr. Duthie argues most tellingly that the 'Pied Bull' Quarto was set from a manuscript which had been written by a scribe taking down the dictation of the actors of the King's Men reciting their parts to reconstruct a missing prompt book during a provincial tour. With a wealth of evidence he demonstrates that this hastily written manuscript was almost certainly taken down chiefly in prose and with only casual punctuation, and that at a later time, perhaps in preparation for making a fair copy, a reviser gave it a rough sort of final punctuation and lineation. Mr. Duthie is under no illusions about the quality of this punctuation, and he fitly describes it as sparse, erratic, and never dependable.⁸ Since there can now be no question that the Folio text was set from a printed copy of the Quarto annotated by 'Scribe E' comparing

7. *Epanalepsis* was a recognized figure: see Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, ed. Willcock and Walker (London, 1936), p. 200.

8. *Op. cit.*, pp. 105-7.

it with the true playhouse promptbook, the error in the Folio text originated in the Quarto, and therefore must be attacked in the Quarto.

If one follows Mr. Duthie's very plausible account of the origin of the manuscript behind the Quarto, there are two possible explanations for this error. If the scribe were roughly punctuating as he wrote, and if in this case he reproduced what he heard (very likely the actors would dictate by phrase groups or by clauses, pausing at a natural stop), we must assign the error to the actor and believe that in the process of carrying the lines in his memory over the course of months he forgot the unusual rhetorical suspension and slipped into the easier and more natural period offered by the run-on line with its neat pairing of subjects and verbs. As Mr. Duthie has shown in a number of examples, the actors were by no means perfect in their parts and on occasion forgot or confused their lines. If on the other hand we follow the hypothesis that the Quarto text was taken down in prose and almost completely without punctuation, followed by a later revision which rather ignorantly punctuated and lined the text, then regardless of the actor's delivery of the lines we probably have a clear case, as would be expected, of this reviser's failing to understand the delicate suspension and *epanalepsis*, and consequently reading the lines as seemed most natural to him.

These may seem sufficiently plausible alternatives to account for the mispunctuation of the Quarto, yet there is evidence not previously advanced which may lay the blame on the compositor.

The Quarto, to repeat, prints:

*Lear. Blow wind & cracke your cheekes, rage, blow
You caterickes, & Hircanios spout til you haue drencht,
The steebles drown'd the cockes, . . .*

What is at once observable is the faulty comma in the second line after 'drencht', and it is a reasonable hypothesis that we have here a situation by no means unknown in Elizabethan play quartos whereby through a memorial or visual error the compositor misplaced the punctuation concluding one line by dropping it to the end of the line immediately below.⁹ If this comma after the second line, which impossibly intervenes between a verb and its direct object, were moved to the line above, we should have the Quarto's

9. Typical examples may be observed in Thomas Dekker, *The Shoemakers Holiday* (1600), sig. K₃^v, lines 1-2; and in *Fortunatus* (1600), sig. B₂, lines 8-9; B₂^v, lines 5-6; G₄^v, lines 27-28. For inversion of punctuation within a line, see *Fortunatus*, sig. F₂, line 22. For omission of necessary punctuation at the end

of a line, doubtless for reasons of justification, see *Fortunatus*, sig. A₃, line 5; B₂^v, line 25; C₁^v, final line; D₄, line 1. I am indebted to Dr. Bowers for these references as well as for some suggestions concerning the bibliographical evidence.

conventional light punctuation to end-stop the first line after 'blow'. This is so clear an example of a reasonably common compositor's error that the case could be taken as demonstrated were it not for the lack of a necessary comma in the third line after 'steeple', which raises the question whether the comma after 'drencht' is not instead a faulty 'inversion' of this comma from the third line. However, the lack of such necessary punctuation is not at all unusual in the Quarto, as instance the omission of the necessary punctuation after III.i.21 in the same inner forme F with III.ii.3. Yet if there is any slight doubt that the comma after 'drencht' was moved up by compositor's error from 'steeple' instead of having been exchanged from 'blow' in the line above, another explanation may be advanced which is perhaps more strictly bibliographical.

It is well known that in setting verse a compositor was likely to use a shorter measure, or printer's stick, rather than the longer measure required for the full width of his type-page, and that he would shift to a stick with the full measure when he arrived at a series of long lines or approached a passage of prose.¹⁰ This was an economical custom, for he could fill up the right-hand margin of his type-page more quickly by inserting quads in the page-galley than by setting them individually in his stick to fill out a succession of short lines. When we examine the 'Pied Bull' Quarto, we see that the compositor indeed used two measures according to the nature of his material, a short measure 80 mm. wide and a long measure 93 mm. wide. The lines in question occur on sig. F4 recto of the Quarto, where it can be observed that III.ii.1-3, 10, 21-22, as well as the concluding line of the previous scene III.i.55, are justified to the 80 mm. measure without the use of quads or spaces at the end, that line 18 has probably been concluded by direct setting in page-galley, and that the compositor did not switch to his 93 mm. measure until the prose beginning with line 25. If we then look more narrowly at III.ii.1 where we are questioning the lack of punctuation after 'blow', we see that the line is crowded in the 80 mm. measure. Thin spaces only are used between the words except for the thick space between speech-heading and first word which is invariably maintained by this compositor throughout the play. Moreover, in the first line no thin space is set after the comma following 'cheekes' or the comma following 'rage' although such spaces appear after commas in lines 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7. Therefore, the line could not be justified in the stick if a comma were to appear after 'blow' unless the compositor were to go to the trouble of picking out the final 'e' in 'cracke' or in 'cheekes' which he had already set, and it is plausible that he did not

^{10.} W. W. Greg (*The Library*, 4th ser., xvii [1936], 178-79) in another connection has pointed out the use of varying measures in this passage.

take this trouble but instead automatically justified his line by omitting the final comma.¹¹ It would seem that the probabilities are as great (and indeed the two facts may perhaps be connected) that the comma after 'drencht' is the one properly belonging a line above after 'blow', but in either case there is good reason to suspect compositor's error.

To sum up, against the 'authority' of the Quarto punctuation we have a much superior Shakespearian reading to be derived by emendation. In turn, this emendation may be assisted by arguments concerning the circumstances of memorial composition of the manuscript behind the Quarto; but if these seem too speculative it is possible to bring forward the fact that within the crucial passage the punctuation is manifestly corrupt in two other places, and that certain lines of bibliographical speculation lead to the conclusion either that the original comma was displaced in error to the verse below or that because of difficulties in justifying the line the compositor did not set it although it was present in his manuscript.

There remains the problem of the retention of this corruption in the Folio text set from a marked printed copy of the Quarto corrected by comparison with the promptbook. One must admit that this corrector, Scribe E, devoted some attention to these lines since he relined correctly 2-3, altered 'wind' to 'windes' and 'the' to 'our' before 'steeple', and (unless we may credit the Folio compositor) removed the faulty comma after 'drencht' and possibly placed the semicolon with a following capitalization of 'rage' in the first line. Whoever was responsible,¹² this semicolon and its accompanying alteration of 'rage' to 'Rage' indicates as clearly as may be that in the Folio 'Rage' is intended to begin a new rhetorical period which must necessarily be completed by a run-on line. It was doubtless this consideration which led Mr. Duthie to retain the Folio reading, but in the light of all the evidence

^{11.} This, of course, may describe the end process only. Actually, if the compositor had set spaces after the commas following *cheekes* or *rage*, he would have been unable to complete setting *blow* in his stick before beginning to justify. Removal of these spaces might just possibly have provided room for the last two types in *blow*, although there is a slight possibility that some adjustment was made in the space between speech-heading and first word, which may be somewhat narrower here than is customary. Having reached this point, and achieved a satisfactorily justified line including the final word, he may well either have forgotten that a comma should follow, or else not troubled himself further since the passage made sense without a comma. However, the

argument that the comma could have been omitted in the process of justifying the line does not depend exclusively on the assumption that spaces originally appeared after *cheekes* and *rage*. This compositor omitted the space after a comma in line 2 (which fills the measure), although setting spaces in the following lines of the passage. Yet on other pages where justification does not appear to be in question for a short line in his 80 mm. measure, he frequently omits these spaces.

^{12.} According to the Folio compositors' arbitrary treatment of printed copytexts, this heavier punctuation and the capitalization may as readily be ascribed to the printer as to Scribe E.

adducing corruption in the origin of the reading in the Folio's copytext, it would seem that in this case, as in others which Mr. Duthie has illustrated, Scribe E was careless or chose to believe the superficially more natural rhetoric of the Quarto over the punctuation of the promptbook, if indeed that was perfect. Since no direct Shakespearian authority is present in the copytext for the Quarto, and since positive authority in the Folio is shown only by specific alteration and not by failure to alter, we may if we choose believe that this crux should properly be resolved on the purely literary ground of meaning and style, bibliographical evidence concurring, and that the most fitting conclusion we may reach is that Shakespeare did indeed write:

Blow windes, and cracke your cheekes; rage, blow!
You Cataracts and Hurricano's, spout
Till you have drench'd our Steeples, drown'd the Cockes.

GEORGE W. WILLIAMS

THE TWELFTH DAY OF DECEMBER: *TWELFTH NIGHT*, II.iii.91

THE old ballad which Sir Toby Belch begins in *Twelfth Night* (II.iii.91) is never finished: only the first line,

O the twelffe day of December,

has been sung when Maria, seeing Malvolio approach, interrupts Sir Toby with "For the love of God, peace!" Had Malvolio not entered just then, we might have had a few more lines of the ballad and a better chance to identify the song that has long puzzled commentators on the play. Although most of the other songs in the play have been identified, the original of this ballad has escaped the many searchers for it. William Sidney Walker declared that "it is the first line of a narrative ballad"¹ but did not further identify it. Later editors of the play have not been successful in identifying the song: William Allen Neilson notes that "this song has not been identified."² William J. Rolfe explains it as "from some old ballad that has not come down to us."³ The Cambridge editors, after stating that "the rest of the ballad has

1. *Critical Examination of the Text of Shakespeare* (London, 1860), I, 104, cited by Furness, *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, Twelfth Night, or, What You Will* (Philadelphia, 1901), p. 122.

2. *Shakespeare's Twelfth Night* (Chicago and New York, 1903), p. 167.

3. *Shakespeare's Comedy of Twelfth Night* (New York, [1921]), p. 173.

been lost," add that "it is conceivable that the words may give us a clue to the actual date of the first performance . . ."⁴ G. H. Nettleton, in the *Yale Shakespeare*, and Arthur D. Innis, in the *Arden Shakespeare*, have no note on the line.

The suggestion has not previously been advanced that the line may refer to a well-known carol of the Christmas-Epiphany season, "The Twelve Days of Christmas," which has flourished in England since the Renaissance and is still sung today. It is conveniently found in print in the Sharp-Marson collection of Somerset folk-songs.⁵ The carol begins,

On the twelfth day of Christmas my true Love sent to me,

and then there follows a listing of the gifts that were presented on the days between Christmas and Twelfth Night—twelve bells a-ringing, eleven bulls a-beating, ten asses racing, nine ladies dancing, eight boys a-singing, seven swans a-swimming, six geese a-laying, five golden rings, four colley birds, three French hens, two turtle doves, and a part of the mistletoe bough, or, and the part of a June apple tree—a long and generous series of gifts. About the singing of this carol, Mr. Sharp has this to say:

This song consists of twenty-three verses and is sung in the following way. The second verse begins:—

"On the *eleventh* day of Christmas my true Love sent to me
Eleven bulls a-beating, etc.,"

and so on till the twelfth verse, as given in the text.

The process is then reversed, the verses being gradually increased in length, so that the thirteenth verse is:—

"On the *second* day of Christmas my true Love sent to me
Two turtle doves
One goldie ring,
And the part of a June apple tree."

In this way the twenty-third verse is triumphantly reached, and that, of course, except for the last line, is the same as the first verse.⁶

Mr. Sharp has also pointed out that another way of singing it is to begin with "On the *first* day of Christmas, etc." and to continue to the twelfth day when the song concludes. This latter version is the most familiar today,

4. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and J. D. Wilson, eds., *Twelfth Night or What You Will* (Cambridge: University Press, 1930), p. 129.

5. C. J. Sharp and C. L. Marson, *Folk Songs from Somerset* (London, 1911), pp. 52-55. There

is another printing of this song in *The Fireside Book of Folk Songs*, selected and edited by M. B. Boni (New York, [1947]), pp. 248-51.

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

but it appears that the older version is the one with twenty-three verses.⁷ Country singers seem to have delighted in this type of song and to have regarded such sequences as tests of memory and endurance.⁸

Several things can be cited, I believe, to substantiate the conjecture that Sir Toby's unfinished ballad is "The Twelve Days of Christmas." In the first place, Sir Toby has never been praised for his memory, originality, or accuracy; indeed, he is seldom free from the delightful malapropisms and mistakes which mark his speeches. The misunderstanding of "prodigal" as "prodigy" (I.iii.25), the misunderstanding of "lethargy" as "lechery" (I.v.123), and the misuse of "encounter" for "enter" (III.i.74) are characteristic mistakes. It seems not unlikely that he might substitute the word "December" (the month of the Christmas season) for "Christmas" in the first line of a ballad familiar to the English audience of the time.

In the second place, the song would not be inappropriate for a play that was named after, and perhaps first performed on, the Feast of the Epiphany. As Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch writes, "It seems a reasonable guess that Shakespeare had written [this play] for presentation on . . . Twelfth Night (Epiphany), 1602."⁹ If the play were given at that time, a reference to Epiphany, in the good humored vein of Sir Toby's mistake, would link the occasion of the performance as well as add another deft touch to Sir Toby's character.

Then, too, "*O the twelve day of December*" appears to be a ballad which contains the definite introduction of a particular day in the first line. Such a first line might belong to a topical broadside ballad, but there should be a definite point to singing it here. There seems to be no such reason to introduce a broadside, for the ballads preceding this one in the text are traditional ones. If a broadside ballad is to break the mood, it should have a definite point alluded to by the date; that point cannot be ascertained here, and hence a traditional ballad seems more acceptable. Among the traditional, "The

7. The shorter, and more familiar, version is printed by J. O. Halliwell in his *Nursery Rhymes of England, Collected Principally from Oral Tradition* (The Percy Society, [1842]), pp. 127-128. He adds a note that "each child in succession repeats the gifts of the day, and forfeits for each mistake. This accumulative process is a favourite with children; in early writers, such as Homer, the repetition of messages, etc. please on the same principle."

8. This Christmas-Epiphany carol is perhaps the most attractive of the whole genre of accumulative songs which include "This is the

house that Jack built," "The barley mow," "One man shall mow my meadow," and "The Dilly Song" (*vide* Sharp and Marson, *loc. cit.*). But it is not unique in being an enumerative ballad connected with a religious festival: "The Seven Joys of Mary" ("Joys Seven") and "In those twelve days let us be glad" ("A New Dial") are similar: these last two are numbers 70 and 64 in *The Oxford Book of Carols*, edited by Dearmer, Williams, and Shaw (Oxford: University Press, [1938]).

9. *Twelfth Night*, "Introduction," p. viii.

"Twelve Days of Christmas" is the only recorded ballad which has such a definite day-naming at the very first.

Therefore we may believe that this unfinished ballad is not an old one that has been lost nor a precise reference which may be used in dating the first performance, but instead that it is a familiar one with a changed first line. This changed line would be in character for Sir Toby, and yet the ballad from which it was taken would be distinctly appropriate for a play called *Twelfth Night*. The audience, on to the joke when Sir Toby started singing the line (for the tune would give the joke away), would enjoy another example of the Tobian mistake.

I. B. CAUTHEN, JR.

THE DRYDEN *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA* IMPRINT: ANOTHER THEORY

RECENTLY Mr. Fredson Bowers called attention to the fact that there are six different states of the imprint of Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida* (1st ed., 1679).¹ It is a tantalizing puzzle, and Mr. Bowers warned that his quite plausible reconstruction of the history of the printing must be only tentative because no solution can be proved beyond a doubt. It may be of some interest to look into the possibilities of a somewhat different theory as to what may have happened.

Each of the six imprints is introduced by the phrase "London, printed for", names Jacob Tonson and Abel Swall as publishers, gives their addresses in the same wording, and closes with the date, 1679. The two main forms of the imprint differ in that one names Tonson first and the other names Swall first. Mr. Bowers classifies the Tonson-first imprints as T₁, T_{2a}, and T_{2b}; and the Swall-firsts as S_{1a}, S_{1b}, and S₂. The distinguishing features of each are shown in the following table:

	T ₁	T _{2a}	T _{2b}	S _{1a}	S _{1b}	S ₂
Rule	A	B	A	A	B	A
London	A	A	A	B	B	B
Tonson	A	A	A	B	B	B
Swall	A	B	B	A	A	B

1. "Variants in Early Editions of Dryden's Plays," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, III, no. 2 (1949), 280-83, where reproductions of the imprints are provided. In the twenty-six

copies which Mr. Bowers examined, the states of the imprint occurred as follows: 3 of T₁, 6 of T_{2a}, 4 of T_{2b}, 4 of S_{1a}, 7 of S_{1b}, and 2 of S₂.

There are two different settings of type for each of the following elements in the imprint: the phrase "London, printed for" (London); Tonson's name and address (Tonson); and Swall's name and address (Swall). Swall *A* is followed by a period; Swall *B*, Tonson *A*, and Tonson *B* are each followed by a comma. Swall *B* has the same line ending in T_{2a} and T_{2b}, but it is better spaced in T_{2b}. Also the rule above the imprint may consist of a 97 mm. piece (Rule *B*) which begins at the left margin but does not reach the right margin, or it may be extended to the right margin by an additional 12 mm. piece (producing Rule *A*).

Mr. Bowers' reconstruction of the history of the printing may be outlined as follows:

- (1) T₁ is printed first. Swall *A* period is placed before the date correctly and by choice.
- (2) Required number of Tonson copies is printed.
- (3) S_{1a} is formed from T₁ by removing London *A* and Tonson *A*, setting London *B*, moving up Swall *A* to follow it, and then setting Tonson *B* to follow Swall *A*. Swall *A* period is overlooked and remains now by error because it is followed by Tonson *B* instead of by date.
- (4) S_{1a} begins printing Swall copies.
- (5) S_{1b} results when the short piece of rule drops out leaving only Rule *B*.
- (6) Need for more Tonson copies is discovered while S_{1b} is printing. T_{2a} is formed by using idle London *A* and Tonson *A* and setting Swall *B*.
- (7) S_{1b} finishes printing the required number of Swall copies. S_{1b} is replaced by T_{2a}. Printing of the second batch of Tonson copies begins.
- (8) T_{2b} results when the small piece of rule is again inserted producing Rule *A*, and Swall *B* is better spaced.
- (9) Need for additional Swall copies is discovered while T_{2ab} is printing or when it is about to be removed.
- (10) T_{2b} finishes printing the required number of copies in the second Tonson batch.
- (11) S₂ is formed from T_{2b} by replacing London *A* with London *B*, removing Tonson *A*, moving up Swall *B* to follow London *B*, and adding Tonson *B* at the end.
- (12) S₂ prints required number of second batch of Swall copies.

There appear to be several difficulties with this hypothesis.

It is, for instance, not impossible that the Swall *A* period came by mistake from the comma box; the comma box lay in the case just above the period box and it would be easy enough to drop a period into the comma box

while distributing. Although a period before an imprint date is not uncommon, *T₁* is the only *Troilus and Cressida* imprint so punctuated. Possibly the Swall *A* period does not represent the compositor's intention in *T₁* any more than in *S_{1a}* and *S_{1b}* where it does, indeed, seem to be an error. If so, the period would have no value as an indication that Swall *A* was first used in *T₁* because the compositor who would not bother to remove the period from *S_{1a}* and *S_{1b}* where it was in error would scarcely bother to remove it from *T₁* where it would probably not offend.

Again, in step 3, it would seem that a simpler procedure and less time consuming would be merely to rearrange the type already in the forme for *T₁*. Instead, the compositor pulls out London *A* and Tonson *A* and sets new London *B* and Tonson *B* to take the place which they might have occupied. This would be necessary if London *A* and Tonson *A* had pied, but they reappear unchanged later in *T_{2a}* and *T_{2b}*. Nor did he do it because he wanted to avoid shifting sections of the imprint; London *A* which was removed need not have been shifted at all, and Swall *A* which was left had to be shifted to a position following London *B*.

A similar objection seems to apply to step 11. Here again there is already in the imprint all the type needed, and only a rearrangement would be required. The compositor need not even do that. At step 7 he had replaced *S_{1b}* entirely with *T_{2a}*; in the same way he could now replace *T_{2b}* with *S_{1b}*. Instead, he removes only part of *T_{2b}*, and shifts what is left so that he can insert part of *S_{1b}*. It is, of course, unlikely that the printer of Moxon's day was completely efficient in everything he did; at the same time it is not impossible that he was as eager as any other man to get out of as much work as he could and that whenever he came across something which saved time he might tend to repeat it.

Mr. Bowers, it may be noted, was aware of these objections but he felt that even so his hypothesis provided the most reasonable solution of the problem. He was convinced that the Swall *A* period was used deliberately and correctly in *T₁*. He rejected the idea of a complete new imprint in step 3 because this would mean to follow *T₁* with *S₂*, and he thought it impossible to work out a convincing order for the remaining imprints if this were done. He suggested that the compositor may have intended to use a new imprint at this point, but delayed setting it until it was too late and then made the alteration in what may somehow have seemed to him the simplest manner even though it does not seem so today. Finally, he recognized that in step 11 the printer failed to use the lesson of step 6, but he felt that it is not necessary to force the compositor always to follow the same procedure in meeting an unusual situation.

The following hypotheses are offered as illustrations of what may be done with a somewhat different approach.

This approach involves two theories: (1) Both compositor and pressman would have saved time if while one imprint was being used at the press another imprint were set up complete and ready to replace it in the forme as soon as the required number of copies had been run off. The type of T₁ is entirely different from that of S₂, and T_{2ab} is entirely different from S_{1ab}. In either pair one imprint could replace the other with minimum delay. (2) The switch in parts of the two imprints first used might have resulted if, after the first batch of copies for Tonson and for Swall had been printed, one or more portions of a then idle imprint had been removed for use in some other book naming only one of the publishers.

Whatever the sequence, however, it seems necessary to make two assumptions: (1) T_{2b} followed T_{2a} because Swall *B* is better spaced in T_{2b}. (2) In any two consecutive but typographically entirely different imprints the rule probably (but not necessarily) remained the same; otherwise the short rule was lacking two or more times instead of just once during the printing.

A schedule such as (A) or (B) below might be satisfactory. (It may be worth noting that Hypothesis B agrees with Mr. Bowers' feeling that the Swall *A* period had to appear first in T₁.)

Hypothesis A

(1) S_{1a} is printed first. Swall *A* period is taken from comma box and never corrected.

(2) S_{1b} results when the short piece of rule drops out leaving Rule *B*. Before S_{1b} is finished printing T_{2a} is set.

(3) Required number of Swall copies is printed. T_{2a} replaces S_{1b} and begins printing Tonson copies. S_{1b} is tied up or left in a galley.

(4) T_{2b} results when short piece is put back in rule producing Rule *A*, and Swall *B* is better spaced.

(5) Required number of Tonson copies is printed. T_{2b} is left in the forme or tied up with undistributed title-page type.

(6) Swall *B* is removed from T_{2b} in title-page type to be used in another book.

(7) Need for additional Tonson copies is discovered.

(8) T₁ is made up from what remains of T_{2b} (London *A* and Tonson *A*) plus Swall *A* from idle S_{1b}. T₁ begins printing.

(9) Need for additional Swall copies is discovered.

(10) S₂ is made up from what remains of S_{1b} (London *B* and Tonson *B*) plus Swall *B* (now finished with other job).

- (11) T₁ finishes printing second batch of Tonson copies. S₂ replaces T₁.
- (12) S₂ prints second batch of Swall copies.

Hypothesis B

(1) T₁ is printed first. Swall *A* period is placed before date by accident because it is taken from comma box, or possibly by choice. Before T₁ is finished printing S₂ is set.

(2) Required number of Tonson copies is printed. S₂ replaces T₁ and begins printing Swall copies. T₁ is tied up or left in galley.

(3) Required number of Swall copies is printed. S₂ is left in the forme or tied up with undistributed title-page type.

(4) Swall *B* is removed from S₂ for use in another book.

(5) Need for additional Swall copies is discovered.

(6) S_{1a} is made up from what remains of S₂ (*London B* and *Tonson B*) plus Swall *A* from T₁. S_{1a} begins printing. Swall *A* period is overlooked and remains now by error because it is followed by *Tonson B* instead of by date.

(7) S_{1b} results when short piece drops out during printing leaving Rule *B*.

(8) Need for additional Tonson copies is discovered.

(9) T_{2a} is made up from what remains of T₁ (*London A* and *Tonson A*) plus Swall *B* (now finished with other job).

(10) S_{1b} finishes printing second batch of Swall copies. T_{2a} replaces S_{1b} and begins printing second batch of Tonson copies.

(11) T_{2b} results when short piece is returned making Rule *A*, and Swall *B* is better spaced.

(12) T_{2b} finishes printing second batch of Tonson copies.

PAUL S. DUNKIN

PROPOSALS OF NINE PRINTERS FOR A NEW EDITION
OF THE
JOURNALS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1785.

IN August of 1785 the Continental Congress of the United States, feeling that there should be a cumulative, indexed edition of its *Journals*, authorized the Secretary of Congress, Charles Thomson, to advertise 'for proposals from the Printers to publish a New Edition of the Journals in folio, Congress

taking 1000 copies.¹ Accordingly Thomson inserted the following notice in newspapers in the principal cities of the young republic:

To the PRINTERS
OFFICE of the Secretary of Congress,
August 26, 1785.

The United States in Congress assembled, intending to have a new, correct, and complete Edition of their Journals; the Printers in the several States are here requested to send to this Office, on or before the First Monday of November next, the Terms on which they will engage to publish the said Journals, and to deliver One Thousand Copies thereof.

The Person or Persons contracting must engage to have a complete Index made for the Whole, from the Beginning to the First Monday in November, 1785, and inserted in the Volume ending at that Time.

The Edition must be in Folio and bound in Boards.

The Proposals must mention the Time when the Work can be entered upon, and the Quantity which can be composed daily; and be accompanied with Specimens of Paper and Types.

The Work to be carried on at the Place where Congress resides, or within such Distance thereof as shall be determined by the Secretary, who is to superintend the Printing, and revise the Proof-Sheets.

CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.²

Nine printers replied with proposals that fulfilled all, or almost all, of Thomson's requirements.³ From the replies a number of interesting facts about the printing trade in America in the late 18th century may be ascertained. All of the bidders were concerned, of course, with costs of the printing of the job; some mentioned costs of indexing and binding. Most of them spoke of paper and its availability, and had something to say about type. One or two referred to proofing, and almost all gave some idea of the speed at which they hoped to be able to work. All but one of them submitted specimens of type and workmanship.

1. *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, 1933), xxix, 663, n. 1.

2. For copy I have used the advertisement in *The United States Chronicle: Political, Commercial, and Historical* (Providence, R. I.), Sept. 29, 1785, p. 4.

3. The proposals, with samples of type,

paper, and workmanship, have been preserved in manuscript and are bound together in Volume 46 of the *Papers of the Continental Congress* in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Quotations from the various proposals will be identified only by the names of the printers, since page references to the bound volume would be difficult to make.

I.

Since all of the printers did not quote specifically on all the financial aspects of the task and none gave any final quotation for the whole edition, it is impossible to make any comparisons of their estimates for the complete job. It is, however, possible to examine their quotations for printing and for the cost of paper.⁴

The two highest bids for printing were made by John Dunlap of Philadelphia, founder of the *Pennsylvania Packet* and for several years prior to 1785 one of several public printers to the Continental Congress, and by Isaac Collins, printer to the state of New Jersey. They both estimated \$12 per sheet for the printing of one thousand copies. Dunlap added \$6 for 'two perfect Reams' of paper; and Collins requested an advance for two hundred thirty-three reams at \$3 a ream. Dunlap noted that 'the above Price has been made moderate, in the Expectation that the Number of Copies, which will be printed above those ordered by Congress, may sell so as to make Amends, by a small Profit to the Printer.' Another high bid was made by Charles Gist of Philadelphia, who had the backing of Timothy Pickering, then Quartermaster-General of the United States Army and later Secretary of State, in a letter recommending his work and his personal qualifications to Congress. Gist's price of £6.10 (\$17) included the cost of the paper.

Francis Childs of New York, a protégé of Benjamin Franklin, quoted £6 in 'New York Currency' (about \$15) in Pica, or £5.10 (about \$13.70) in English, including the cost of paper, and noted that 'if the Journals should make 5 Volumes in English—They would only make 4 in Pica.' When Samuel Loudon, a Whig printer of New York, offered his estimate of \$8 per sheet for the printing, he suggested three grades of paper priced for two reams and two quires at \$4.25 for 'middling,' \$5.50 for the 'best,' and \$7 for the 'finest.'

The low bids were sent in by Bennett Wheeler, publisher and bookseller of Providence, Rhode Island, and public printer to his own state, and Colonel Eleazer Oswald of New York, one-time public printer in Philadelphia and founder in that city in 1782 of the *Independent Gazeteer: or the Chronicle of*

4. For purposes of comparison it has seemed most practical to convert English pounds, shillings, and pence into 'dollars' since most of the estimates were given on the dollar basis. American dollars as such had not yet been authorized by Congress, but the Spanish dollar, the most widely current coin in the several states, had achieved a fairly constant stability for business transactions, especially in the Middle-Atlantic states. In all but one of the states where the printers resided, the dollar

was worth 7/6; in the remaining state, New York, the value of a dollar was set at 8/6. These ratios seem to have remained constant from at least 1782 to 1788. See "Coinage System Proposed by Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance, January 15, 1782," reprinted in *Report of Proceedings of the International Monetary Conference, 1878* (Washington, 1933), p. 430, and also *The Virginia Almanac for the Year of Our Lord 1788* (Richmond, 1787).

Freedom. Both bids, Wheeler's at \$8 and Oswald's at \$8.50 per thousand sheets, included the cost of the paper. Oswald, however, submitted his bid by the single sheet, rather than on the basis of 1000 sheets as the others had done, and gave quotations for three different sizes—Law Folio, Demy Folio, and Royal Quarto, at three farthings, seven-eighths of one penny, and one penny half-penny per sheet, respectively, 'Pennsylvania currency.' The corresponding dollar values were about \$8.50, \$9.60, and \$16.60 on the basis of 1000 copies.

One bidder, James Adams, the first printer in Delaware, who had attempted unsuccessfully, a few years earlier, to establish a newspaper at Wilmington, declined to mention specific sums of money, but included in his proposals the following remarks about how his bid could be determined: 'Now, Sir, my Proposals concerning the above mention'd Business, are as follows, viz. That after you fix on the Type you would have the Work printed on, and the Size of the Paper, the Printer or Printers who proposes to do the Work should inform you what his Price by the Sheet, for one thousand Copies will be, exclusive of the Paper, as there is no other Way with Certainty to come to the Knowledge what the printing of the Whole will come to, as it is not known how much it will make; and if he is a Person of good Character in his Profession, I hereby *promise*, to do the Work considerably cheaper, Provided you will allow me to carry it on here in Wilmington. . . .'

Concerning the cost of forming and printing the index, the comments of the printers were varied. Dunlap stated that 'A person of unquestionable Abilities will be employed to make out a complete Index, the Cost of which cannot be ascertained until it is finished, but Care shall be taken to have it done on reasonable Terms. . . .' Childs offered to print it 'in a small neat type at £5 [\$12.50] per sheet,' while Gist estimated the cost at £9 (\$24.00) per sheet, paper included. Wheeler and Oswald estimated the cost for the index to be the same as for the text of the *Journals*, Oswald further noting that there would be no charge for forming and arranging the index. Isaac Collins considered the forming of the index as quite separate from the printing, saying, 'The INDEX to be printed in smaller Type . . . for Twenty Dollars by the Sheet; the forming of which to be a separate Charge, the Expense whereof it is impossible at present to ascertain with precision.'

The only other mention of expense in the proposals was concerned with the cost of binding the completed volumes, and only six printers referred to the matter at all. Loudon said he could bind the *Journals* 'in Folio Volumes, in blue boards [for] about half a Dollar each,' and Kollock quoted the same figure for binding volumes of eight hundred pages. Gist would bind them for 5/ (66¢) in volumes of 600-700 pages, or for 6/3 (84¢) for 1000 pages. Childs' bid of 6/ (80¢ in his currency) did not refer to the number of pages;

and Wheeler wrote that the cost of binding would have to be regulated by the size of the volumes. Adams, also, said that no estimate could yet be made, but added, ' . . . as I carry on Bookbinding as well as Printing, [I] hereby promise to bind them cheaper than any other Binder will do them.'

Unfortunately no accurate estimate can be made of the final and total cost of the new edition of the *Journals*, for only one printer, Charles Gist, was willing to venture a prediction of how many pages would be in the completed work. In his proposal he guessed, as a basis for establishing his cost per sheet, that the whole work including the index was 'supposed to amount in the type as per Specimen Y No. 1 to about 3000 pages or 750 sheets folio . . .' His total quotation for printing and paper at the rate of \$15 per sheet would therefore have been in the neighborhood of \$11,250, but his bid of \$12.50 per sheet for the index would have lessened that figure somewhat. At 80¢ per volume for binding, \$800 would have been added to the cost of printing and paper, resulting in a final estimate of close to \$12,000 for the edition. But when one considers that the *Journal* entries for 1785 in Fitzpatrick's 1933 edition are in the twenty-ninth volume, each volume in the edition containing between three and four hundred pages, it is reasonable to believe that Gist may have under-estimated the total number of pages that would have been necessary to print the whole from the beginning to the first Monday in November, 1785.

II.

In addition to estimating costs of printing, paper, indexing, and binding, the nine printers mentioned other items of interest in connection with early American printing practice. Only two of them risked an opinion as to how long the entire job would take, Loudon hoping 'to complete the whole in about a year,' and Gist figuring two years at the outside. But several of them were able to estimate the amount of work they could do in one day or one week. Collins and Oswald assured composing and printing of one sheet every day; and Adams, who must have had the smallest shop of them all, thought he could do 'four or five Sheets a Week . . . on a Fools-Cap Size Paper, in the Letter called Pica and Small Pica.' Gist 'positively engage[d] to deliver one Sheet per day, correctly printed, but should greater despatch be wanted, he will as soon as a sufficient number of expert and steady hands can be procured set another press to work.'

Similarly Loudon intended to use two presses for the work, a fact which would probably indicate that he expected to print at least two sheets each day. Dunlap also assured two sheets per day, and Kollock said that 'Twelve sheets will be struck off weekly.' Bennett Wheeler in Providence must have planned to print on three presses at once, for he noted that his establishment

would print '12 Pages per day—and more if necessary, as I could hire more hands.'

Most of the printers must have thought that Thomson's plan to do the proof-reading himself was a good one and would save them work and responsibility, for only two mentioned doing the proofing in their own shops. In his proposals, set in type as part of his specimen offering, Collins assured the Congress that 'the proof-sheets [would be] conveyed to and from the Secretary by the post-riders,' but in a handwritten letter he noted that he could have the proofs read in Trenton 'by Mr. Houston who has been used to and is excellent at the Business.' Adams, hoping to advance one more reason why he should do the work at Wilmington, said that he could have 'the Assistance of a Gentleman, (now principal Master of our Academy) who has been Corrector in one of the principal Offices in London in revising the Proof-Sheets. . . .' He further pointed out that he would thus 'be relieving [the Secretary] of a great deal of Labour, as it appears you intend to revise the proof sheets yourself—.'

A problem in which the printers evinced considerably more interest, however, concerned paper and its availability. Loudon hoped that there would 'be no hindrance on account of Paper,' and Dunlap said he would only be able to commence work after the paper had been made. Kollock would put the work 'to press as soon as a contract for paper can be accomplished, which shall not exceed four weeks,' but Gist felt that he would require at least six months to procure paper and other materials for the job. Adams cautioned that the paper should 'be contracted for without Delay, as the large Quantity that will be wanted will require a considerable Space of Time to finish it.' Only Wheeler, state printer to Rhode Island, seemed to be confronted with no delay; he stated that he would use the same paper as that upon which he had that summer printed the *Journals of Assembly* for his own state.

Apparently the paper manufacturers were particular about prompt payment because Dunlap asked for an advance for 200 reams of paper, and Collins requested money for 233 reams at \$3 per ream. Adams wrote, in addition, 'If I should be favoured with the Work, I expect to have Cash advanced to pay for Paper, as our Paper Maker does not incline to spare a single Ream without it.'

III.

Of the specimens of type, paper, and workmanship submitted with the proposals, those of Charles Gist were the most comprehensive. He offered as a sample of his printing abilities a sheet of the *Journals of Congress* set in Pica, and a sheet of Congressional accounts set in a smaller type that he

planned to use for the index. A third sheet was a sample of paper, but he said in his letter that the paper he would use for the job would be 'rather of a better colour.' Finally he submitted a large sheet containing short paragraphs set in forty-three different type styles, half of them Roman and the other half Italic, ranging in size from 'Two Lines English' to 'Pearl Italic.' At the top of the sheet was the information that the types were all 'cast in the Letter Foundry of Dr. Alex. Wilson and Sons. Glasgow. 1783.' Bennett Wheeler offered a copy of his newspaper, the *Providence, R. I., United States Chronicle: Political, Commercial, and Historical*, for Thursday, Sept. 29, 1785, containing four pages, on the last of which there was a reprint of Thomson's advertisement to the printers. In addition he submitted half a dozen pages of the 'Journals of Assembly (which we printed this summer).' Francis Childs included a sample of a Latin paragraph in Pica with a note saying that it was 'Composed in Latin to shew a greater diversity of types.'

Childs in his proposals made certain that his connection with Benjamin Franklin should come to the attention of Congress, for he wrote, 'The subscriber from a Letter received from Doctor Franklin, since his arrival, expects, in the next French packet, a Variety of Types—the Matrixes of which were designed by the Doctor and cast under his direction.' To bolster his credentials he later sent to Thomson that letter itself and another one from Franklin expressing an interest in assisting Childs to establish himself in the printing business in New York. Shepard Kollock also relied on Franklin's eminence as a help in procuring the favor of Congress. For his specimens he submitted both his own proposals and an address to Congress set in Pica, and pointed out that they had been 'printed with a new and elegant Type . . . cast under the immediate supervision of that great Typographer, Doctor Franklin.' At the end of his proposals he noted, 'The superior talents of Doctor Franklin, in the typographical art, in which he is so familiar, flatter the publisher with producing a work which will attract the admiration of Congress; and from which he will derive a proportionate share of the credit.'

Oswald and Dunlap submitted sample pages of the *Journals of Congress*, which they had printed in earlier years while they were serving as public printers. Adams offered samples of Latin paragraphs in three kinds of Roman and Italic sizes, Pica, Small Pica, and Long Primer, and spoke admiringly of his type supply as follows: 'As I have lately imported from London a general Assortment of Types, Specimens of such as I suppose you will have the Work printed on you have here enclosed, think there is not a Printer on the Continent better provided for that Work—if a larger Size Letter than you have here inclos'd might be pitch'd on, I have such.' Samuel Loudon offered no specimens, but suggested 'Lawsize' paper and English type, or 'Demy' paper

set in English or Pica. He added that 'The whole (should it be my lot to print them) shall be done with new Types, experienced Compositors and Pressmen.'

The proposals of the nine printers afford thus a unique cross section of information about a number of aspects of the printing trade in the young American republic. From them can be made comparisons of costs of printing and paper, prices of indexing and binding, and estimates of the length of time necessary for the completion of the job. With the comments about type, paper, and proofing, and the samples of workmanship, the proposals constitute a collection of contemporary information of particular interest in any examination of early American publishing.

A final matter worth noting is that actually nothing ever came of Thomson's advertisement and the printer's replies to it. Evidently the total cost of the new edition would have been too great an expense for the Continental Congress to bear; for after the entry in the *Resolve* book authorizing Thomson to request bids, there is the following notation in his handwriting: 'On this the Secretary took order to publish for proposals, the proposals he laid before Congress, who referred them to a com^{ee} and the com^{ee} made report on which no decision is come to.'⁵ Instead of the whole new edition originally planned for, Congress decided to satisfy itself with an index to the *Journals* that had previously been printed by various hands from year to year. On August 15, 1786, the following resolution was passed: 'That the Secy of cong. take order without Delay to employ some person or persons to make an Index of the printed Journals of Congress. . . .'⁶ There the matter rested.

5. *Journals*, ed. Fitzpatrick, xxix, 663, n. 1. reproduction in the future of the specimen sheets submitted by the printers for this project. *Ed.*)
 6. *Ibid.*, xxxi, 520.

(Note: The Society is contemplating the

EDMUND P. DANDRIDGE, JR.

SIR THOMAS BROWNE: EARLY BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES, AND THE DISPOSITION OF HIS LIBRARY AND MANUSCRIPTS

At the time of his death in 1682 Sir Thomas Browne had in his possession a great many of his own papers, some rather uncommon MSS, and a remarkable collection of books. Few men in England had touched so many aspects of the cultural and scientific life of seventeenth-century Europe. Such names as Sir Kenelm Digby, John Evelyn, Sir William Dugdale, Elias Ashmole, John Aubrey, Henry Oldenburg, Arthur Dee, Guy Patin suggest the

variety of his acquaintances and the range of his interests. His was one of those wide-searching, ample minds which turned with perfect ease from laboratory experiments to antiquarian studies or rich and imaginative expression in verse or prose. But as the century drew to a close, the cooler heads and more discriminating judgments of the new age were less and less concerned with the lives and achievements of the preceding generation. Even during Browne's lifetime *Religio Medici* had "grown stale",¹ and thirty years after his death memories had so faded that a brief *Life* prefixed to his *Posthumous Works* contained only scanty details. The few biographical accounts that have survived are therefore of some importance, and a word about them and the disposition of his library may be of interest.

The essential documents are these: two letters from Browne to John Aubrey in 1672 and 1673, Anthony à Wood's account in *Athenæ Oxonienses* (1691-92), an anonymous biography prefixed to the *Posthumous Works* (1712) which included John Whitefoot's "Minutes for the Life of Sir Thomas Browne," and a copy of a letter in the handwriting of Browne's daughter, Elizabeth Lyttleton. These are in addition to a signed pedigree drawn up in 1664 and later amplified by a Norfolk antiquary, the several posthumous publications of Browne's writings, and the *Catalogue* of the library of Sir Thomas and his son, Edward, sold at auction in 1711.

Browne's letters to Aubrey seem to have been replies to inquiries by Aubrey and Anthony à Wood about persons in Norfolk and Oxford, as well as about his own life. Browne mentions Aubrey's "courteous Letter and therin Mr. Woods his request."² Presumably Wood made use of Aubrey's materials in *Athenæ Oxonienses* (1691-92), supplementing the two letters Aubrey had obtained with information available at Oxford.

Thus far it is plain sailing, but with the anonymous *Life* prefixed to the 1712 volume of *Posthumous Works*, uncertainties arise. This account follows Wood in part, but it also includes some new details about Browne's early life as well as the "Minutes" by his old friend, the Reverend John Whitefoot. The question is: whence these additions? We know that the 1712 publication was a hastily gathered collection of Browne's miscellaneous papers, brought out by Curril, the publisher, probably to capitalize on the public interest aroused by the auction sale of Browne's library the year before. Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Tanner wrote to Dr. Charlet:

Curril, the bookseller, has bought, of Dr. Browne's executors, some papers of Sir Thomas Browne . . . it was hurried by him into the press, without

1. Oldenburg to Robert Boyle (1664), *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, ed., Thomas Birch (1772), vi, 172.
2. Works, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (London, 1928-31), vi, 395-399.

advising with any body here, or with Mr. Le Neve, who has great collections that way.³

According to a note in a copy of the book in the Bodleian Library, the editor was John Hase, Richmond Herald, and the preface states that the manuscripts for the publication were supplied by Owen Brigstock, Browne's grandson by marriage. But the author of the *Life* is not identified, nor are his sources of biographical information.

Nearly a century later a document came to light which reveals the basis for the additions to Wood's account. This was a copy of the letter by Elizabeth Lyttleton, published in the *European Magazine* in 1801. It was printed as a communication to the editor, and signed "C. D.", who explained that it was found in a copy of Browne's works in the handwriting of Dr. White Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough, with the following prefatory note:

MEMDUM, In the time of my waiting at Windsor, in the latter part of Nov. 1712, Mrs. Littleton, a daughter of Sir Thomas Brown, of Norwich, lent me a short account and character of her father, written by John Whitefoot, a minister well acquainted with him, the same person who preacht and publisht a funeral sermon for Bishop Hall. It was contained in one sheet, 4to. . . .⁴

Thus, we have a copy by "C. D." of a copy by Bishop Kennet of a letter by Elizabeth Lyttleton which contained a copy of Whitefoot's "Minutes".

John Whitefoot, but five years younger than Browne, was for thirty years his intimate friend, and his name appears frequently in Browne's correspondence. He intended to write a full-length life of the physician, but apparently never produced more than the "Minutes", which Mrs. Lyttleton obtained at his death in 1699. In his prefatory note to Browne's *Miscellany Tracts* (1683), Thomas Tenison mentioned that "there is on foot a design of writing his [Browne's] life; and there are already, some memorials collected by one of his ancient friends."⁵ Presumably the "ancient friend" was Whitefoot, and we may surmise that when the materials for the 1712 publication were being gathered, Curll, or Hase, the editor, naturally sought out the sketch Whitefoot was known to have drawn up.

The author of the 1712 biography had access to still other information.

3. *Works*, ed. Simon Wilkin (London, 1836), iv, ix-xi, 3, n. See also Keynes, *Bibliography of Sir Thomas Browne* (London, 1924), pp. 99-103.

4. *Idem.*, i, cx.

5. *Idem.*, iv, 120. Kippis, who in his Bio-

graphia Britannica devoted a great deal of space to Sir Thomas Browne, mentioned a letter from Whitefoot to Browne's wife, concerning his projected "Life," but this seems to have disappeared (ed. 1780, p. 632).

Wood had asserted that Browne had settled in Norwich to begin medical practice by the persuasions of Dr. Thomas Lushington, his former tutor.⁶ In the 1712 account, which follows Wood fairly closely up to this point, Lushington's name is omitted, and in its place is the statement that "by the Persuasions of Sir Nicholas Bacon, of Gillingham, Sir Justinian Lewyn, and Sir Charles Le Gross of Crostwick, he [Browne] retir'd to the City of Norwich."⁷ Suspiciously, these three names appear at the top of a cancel sheet. The compiler of the biography must have had good grounds for this last-minute substitution, perhaps additional information from Elizabeth Lyttleton. Bacon, Lewyn, and Le Gross were contemporaries of Browne at Oxford, and in later years were his old and respected Norfolk friends. On the other hand, Wood, in mentioning "the persuasions of Tho. Lushington," may have been reporting faithfully information given him at Oxford. Lushington had gone to Norfolk with Bishop Corbett, and may well have had a hand in the arrangements.

From all this it would appear that the 1712 account may be accepted along with Wood's as fairly dependable, since the information in both seems to go back to Browne's own family, friends, or associates in Oxford.

Browne's Books and MSS

Browne's books and MSS passed into the hands of his son, Dr. Edward Browne, the author and traveler whose reputation as a physician exceeded that of his father, though his writings reveal little of the imaginative power or stylistic brilliance of *Religio Medici* or *Urn-Burial*. On Edward's death in 1708, the library became the property of his son, Thomas, the "Tome" whose doings at his grandfather's house enliven the family correspondence.⁸ In two years this Thomas, the last male heir, died, and in January, 1711, Thomas Ballard sold the library at auction. The *Catalogue* printed for the sale, listing well over two thousand items in various languages, is now a very rare book, only four copies being known to exist.⁹ In each of the copies are check marks, presumably indicating items the purchasers wished to bid for, but there is no record of the successful buyers at the auction.

The fate of Browne's papers and MSS is more definitely known. The title page of the sale *Catalogue* mentions "Choice Manuscripts," indicating that they were sold at the same time as the books, though individual items are not

6. *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss (London, 1813-20).

7. *Posthumous Works* (London, 1712), p. iii.

8. *The Will of Edward Browne*, Sloane MS. 3914.

9. These are in the British Museum, the Library of Worcester College, Oxford, and the Osler Library, McGill University, the fourth being owned by Dr. J. F. Fulton of the Yale School of Medicine. The present writer is engaged in editing the *Catalogue*.

listed. Curn had succeeded in buying the papers printed in *Posthumous Works* from Owen Brigstock, who also presented Richard Rawlinson with a copy of Browne's diploma from the College of Physicians.¹⁰ Bishop Tanner possessed a MS of *Repertorium*, now in the Bodleian Library.¹¹

The MS of Browne's *Christian Morals*, which was known to exist, was for some time in the hands of Thomas (later Archbishop) Tenison, having been loaned to him in a box with other MSS by Edward Browne. When the box was returned this MS was missing, and was not found until a special search was made in the presence of the Archbishop. In 1716 it was printed, with a dedication signed by Elizabeth Lyttleton.

Some other MSS found their way into the Bodleian Library through the medium of Dr. Thomas Rawlinson, but Wilkin in 1836 could not discover "how or when he obtained them." One item in the Rawlinson group is a "Catalogue of MSS. &c." listing those formerly in Browne's possession and probably drawn up just before they were sold.¹²

However, the bulk of Sir Thomas Browne's MSS was purchased by Sir Hans Sloane, the physician and bookman whose collections were brought together with the Cottonian and Harleian libraries to form the British Museum. "Sr. H. Sloan has all his [Browne's] & Sons MSS," noted William Stukely in his Commonplace Book.¹³ This is not quite accurate, but Sloane did indeed acquire a great many, comprising over a hundred volumes. That he also secured some of Browne's specimens and antiquities is indicated by Curn's having printed, in the *Posthumous Works*, an engraving of an urn with the acknowledgement: "A Roman Urn . . . Now in y^e Possession of D^r Hans Sloane."

Tempted by the possibility that Sloane might have purchased, in addition to MSS, some of Browne's printed books and that they might therefore be in the British Museum, the present writer in 1939 tried to run down some of the marked items in the Museum copy of the Browne sale Catalogue, on the chance that they represented Sloane's purchases. The copy of the Catalogue did prove to be Sloane's, and by good luck in the process of the search part of Sloane's own catalogue of his printed books was discovered.¹⁴ But since the recovered portion of Sloane's catalogue contains few titles acquired as late as 1711 (the date of the sale of Browne's library) and since Browne does not seem to have been in the habit of putting his name in books, none of the

10. *Works*, ed. Wilkin, i, lxxxviii, and n.

Stukely, M.D. (*Publications of the Surtees Society*: London, 1882), lxxiii, 95.

11. MS Tanner 445.

12. *Works*, ed. Wilkin, iv, 463-476.

14. J. S. Finch, "Sir Hans Sloane's Printed Books," *The Library*, 4th ser., xxii (1941), 67-72.

13. *The Family Memoirs of the Rev. William*

items examined could be positively identified as his. One suspects that a number of volumes now quietly resting in the British Museum were once to be found in the Browne residence in Norwich and were lovingly read by Sir Thomas and perhaps by his son and grandson—but so far, like the ashes in the funeral urns of which the old physician wrote so movingly, their identity remains obscured by the iniquity of oblivion.

JEREMIAH S. FINCH

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE PHILADELPHIA 1794 EDITIONS OF JEFFERSON'S NOTES

IN his *American Bibliography*,¹ Charles Evans refers to the 1794 edition of Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*, printed in Philadelphia for Mathew Carey, as being "In two states, printed on thick, and on ordinary book paper." There are, however, other distinguishing features defining these two states² that give some insight into the printing-house practices of Mathew Carey's printer.³

Examination of copies⁴ in the two states shows that the printers had apparently run the first three signatures (B, C, and D)⁵ on thin, or ordinary paper, before the decision to add some thick-paper copies was made. The type from the six formes of these three signatures had by then been distributed. The reason for the decision to add thick-paper copies is not clear. The thick paper (watermarked AL MASSO)⁶ is clearly superior to the ordinary book paper, but it cannot be stated with any finality whether the additional copies were for premium sale or simply to augment the edition. Augmen-

1. Vol. 9, Chicago, 1925.

2. The two states are most readily distinguished by their thickness (Ordinary paper 2 cm; thick paper 2.5 cm) and by the spellings "Mississipi" and "Erié" in the first three sheets (B-D) of the ordinary paper, as opposed to "Mississippi" (generally, though the word occurs twice on p. 1, once "Mississipi") and "Erie" in the thick-paper.

3. The printer has not been identified. He printed in the same year, for William Hall, Tench Coxe's *View of the United States*. Mathew Carey in this period was employing several printers, whose modified Caslons are all easily enough distinguished by the J's and Q's. The swash Italic J of this printer has not been

found in the font of any other Philadelphia printer of the day.

4. This article is based on an examination of 16 copies: DLC 4, ViU 2, ViW 2, DGS, NCd, ICN, OCL, NjP, MHS, MiU, and a personally owned one marked CV. All headlines were compared, and where variations showed, the forme was minutely collated.

5. A complete copy should collate 8°, A² B-Uu⁴, with map in front and a half-sheet inserted table of Indian Tribes after S₃.

6. Much of the thin paper is also watermarked with this same mark, but some is also unwatermarked.

tion of an edition by the use of a different stock of paper would, even today,⁷ involve some attention to the gathering of sheets for a given book from piles of similar paper stocks.⁸ Disregarding the reset run needed for B-D, the remaining sheets would, therefore, have been run (whether for premium sale or simple augmentation) with a proportion of each sheet in each stock, not some sheets entirely in one stock and others entirely in another. Since both states can be found in contemporary bindings very similar in quality,⁹ the true explanation is probably a combination of the premium sale and augmentation theories.

From signature E forward, the thick paper was worked in continuous printing with the ordinary paper, and interestingly enough the point at which the first three signatures were re-run can be determined with some nicety by an examination of the brackets around the page numbers. These page brackets were left by the compositor in the chase, skeleton fashion, though the numbers were, of course, changed for each forme. The brackets themselves are too uniform and were too frequently broken or pulled and replaced during the running of the formes¹⁰ to be of much use as timetables, but their distance apart varied with the two-digit page numbers, the three-digit numbers in the 100's, and sometimes additionally with the three-digit numbers above 200. Measurements of the distances apart of the brackets show that all of the reset formes were run after the two-digit bracket spreads. More specifically, reset D was machined after outer O (pp. 97-104, the last forme to contain a mixture of 2-and 3-digit spreads, such as reset D has) and before P; and reset inner C (with an 18 mm. spread on C₂^r) followed inner Cc (the first with an 18 mm. spread; the only others to contain a similar spread are Gg, Ll, and Uu, the first two of these with the extra spread in the same position as reset C and Cc).

The thick-paper B-D signatures were completely reset by a different compositor from the one who set the original states of B, C, and D. The com-

7. See, for example, the Murray Printing Company's trade journal, *On the Surface*, for April, 1949, p. 1, "We Deserved It". The practice of running cheap play quartos on job lots of paper of different qualities (see A. H. Stevenson, "New Uses of Watermarks as Bibliographical Evidence," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society, University of Virginia*, 1 (1948-49), 151-182) can never have been customary in the better class of book.

8. Of the 16 copies examined, only 3 show paper mixtures. Of these, DLC-4 and CV have a thick-paper Z in an otherwise thin-paper

copy, indicating a short run Z. CV is furthermore completely lacking signature L, indicating a probably late-gathered copy. DLC-1 is badly mixed (Prelims thin, B-E thick, F-M thin, N-Uu thick) and clearly late gathered. It has a 1796 state of the map, for example. In spite of an apparently high proportion of mixtures, it is clear that normal copies should be all of one kind of paper.

9. E.g., ViU copies.

10. E.g., ViU-2, N₁^r (p. 89); NjP, P₂^r (p. 107); NcD, OC1, and ViU-1, Kkr^r (p. 149).

positor of the second state reappears at other points in the book,¹¹ and seems to have been setting from the same cases¹² as the first compositor. The effort to find means of distinguishing special characteristics of two compositors in a late 18th-century American shop is instructive, but the evidence discovered is largely negative. Variations in the measure are negligible and certainly useless as distinguishing characteristics. This was, of course, in part caused by the fact that the compositor was resetting the same words in the same font¹³ from probably the same case. Typographical variation in typesetting habits is extremely difficult to spot, the use of ligatures and of the long f being for all practical purposes identical between the two. Indeed the only observed variation, other than orthographic ones,¹⁴ is in the space following a period at the end of a sentence. The spacing of the second-state compositor is often measurably larger than that of the first-state compositor. The first-state compositor justified his lines containing sentence breaks more amply between words than between sentences.

Proofreading before the presswork began seems to have been reasonably good, although once the formes were locked, very few changes seem to have been made.¹⁵ Outer P was unlocked¹⁶ for corrections in the tabular material on P₂^v (p. 108) and P₄^v (p. 112), where some states (NjP and NcD) have incorrect totals: "106" for "109" on p. 108, and "21" for "421" on p. 112. Ordinarily it would be assumed that such variations were clear evidence of

11. E.g., Pp₃^r (p. 293) has "Lake Erie", without the first-state compositor's accent.

12. See footnote 13.

13. In the first state of Br^v, lines 1 and 5, the degree marks are superior figures, whereas in the second state they are made from broken eights. This was probably due to ignorance on the part of compositor 2 of the fact that a small font "o" could be made into a superior figure. On Q₂^v the compositor of B-D 2nd state may have learned the use of the superior "o" at line 12 or 19. The difficulty, however, of distinguishing between carefully broken 8's and a superior "o", combined with the possibility of a mid-page change in compositors, has ruled this evidence out either as a timetable factor for the resetting of B-D, or as evidence for two compositors.

14. One additional habit can be associated with him: the 2nd state signature letters were centered not on the page margins as in the first state, but on the distance between the left-hand page margin and the left-hand mar-

gin of the catchword, a phenomenon that recurs at irregular intervals elsewhere in the book. The specific variations of 2nd state from 1st state, besides Mississippi, Erie, and the degree mark, include additional commas by 2 at several points, and a tendency to hyphenate certain place-names.

15. Thus certain misprints survive. In Dr^v line 19 "propable" for "probable" is in all copies of state one, though it was corrected in the second setting, as was "Gulp" for "Gulph" in C₃^r line 12. D₃^r "Waetrs" is uncorrected in the first state. Zr^r has "discription"; Kkr^r "Sympton".

16. Other observed forme unlockings involve only the position of the headline: Inner D first state ViU-1 and DLC4 differ from all others on Dr^v (p. 18) and D₄^r (p. 23); Inner P ViU-2 differs from DLC 1-3 on P₄^r (p. 111); Inner and Outer Z thin-paper copies ViU-1, LC₂-3, DGS, NcD, ICN, OCL, and thick-paper signatures ViU-2, LCI & 4, CV, and MiU on both Zz^{r-v} (p. 171-2).

in-press proofing, but the incorrect states in their two located occurrences appear on both thick and thin paper. Unless, therefore, the two papers were run in a senselessly intermittent fashion, the error arose not from pre-proofed pulls, but from a press accident which straddled the paper change. This latter assumption is borne out by the alignment on page 112 of the erroneous "21" under a three-digit number, which clearly indicates that a "4" has dropped out.

Neither the map nor the folding chart seems to have been involved in the two-paper proposition. The map, however, has been found printed on two stocks of paper: heavy and ordinary. Both map stocks have been found with both paper stocks. This was probably due to the map's having been re-used repeatedly in other publications of Mathew Carey.¹⁷ Most copies of the map with this edition are unwatermarked, although the ViU ordinary paper copy has a map watermark HONIG. The folding table is found watermarked with (1) a crown, circle and bell, (2) with letters F B, and (3) with letters S L. There is no consistency in the way these watermarks appear in the several copies or in the two states, and since the chart is a half-sheet, it is assumed that of the two initial groups, one of them is a counter-mark.

For the sake of collectors interested in knowing the comparative rarity of the two states of the copies examined, the proportion is three¹⁸ of the thick copies to thirteen of the ordinary paper copies. The edition has no textual importance, and it must be clear from the above discussion that neither state has priority except in the first three signatures, in which the ordinary paper was the earlier typesetting and impression. One might judge from the surviving copies that there were perhaps 1000 copies originally planned, and that perhaps this was upped by several hundred with the addition of thick paper. It is significant that three copies¹⁹ are known bound with the separately printed appendix of 1800. These were evidently held in stock for 16 years by some bookseller who took advantage of Jefferson's election to the presidency to dispose of his remainder with newly-issued material.

COOLIE VERNER

17. The map is: *The State of Virginia from the best authorities, By Samuel Lewis. 1794 American miles 69 1/2 to a Degree (scale) Smither Sculpt. [Bottom:] Engraved for Carey's American Edition of Guthries Geography improved.* (E. G. Swem, *Maps Relating to Virginia*, Richmond, 1914, No. 354). This plate was first used in *Carey's American Edition of Guthries Geography Improved*, Philadelphia, 1788 (Evans 21176).

18. ViU-2, NjP, and MiU. To this can be added the thick-paper copy at NN referred to by Evans. For thick-paper signatures in thin-paper copies, see note 8.

19. DGS, a copy privately owned by Mr. Delf Norona, and a copy advertised by an English bookseller, George Harding, Catalog New Series No. 73, 1949, item 12.

THE CANCELS IN LOCKMAN'S
TRAVELS OF THE JESUITS, 1743

BIBLIOGRAPHERS have not hitherto observed that vol. I of the first edition in 1743 of John Lockman's *Travels of the Jesuits*,¹ printed in two octavo volumes for John Noon at London, contains two cancellans leaves found replacing sigs. H₁ and 2C₅, respectively. In each case the type for the cancellans has been reset, an indication that the discovery of the need for cancellation was not made until a relatively later time when the type for the original forme of each sheet had been distributed.

The first cancel leaf, sig. H₁ (pp. 97-98), was printed simply to correct a printer's error in the original. A footnote on sig. G8^r (p. 96) was intended to carry over and to conclude on H₁^r, but this carry-over was inadvertently omitted in the original printing. The cancellans supplies the 4-line remainder of the text of this footnote as follows:

to enquire into the Affair The Result was, Mendiola prov'd their Guilt, (confessing at the same Time his own) to the utter Confusion of the other Jesuits. He afterwards quitted their Society. *La morale pratique des Jesuites*, Tom. I. p. 257, & seq.

However, this addition had to be made at the expense of other material; and, to fit it in, the cancellans omitted the final four lines of the first footnote to appear on sig. H₁, substituting only the notation 'Ibid., pag. 17.' This deleted footnote text is here reprinted from the cancellandum:

They rely so much on this, that they presumed to tell Pope Clement VIII. that if he offered to make a Decree against them, in the Affair de Auxiliis, they would put the whole Church into a Ferment. *La morale pratique des Jesuites*, Vol. I. pag. 17.

In the process of resetting the leaf for the cancellans, no other changes were made on H₁^r. On H₁^r a comma was added in line 2 after 'Colours', in line 24 'excessively' was substituted for 'piercing' before 'hot', and in line 29 'the' replaced 'we' before 'Europeans'. The lineation of the cancellans does not always conform to that of the original.

In contrast, the second cancel, that on sig. 2C₅ (pp. 393-394), was made to delete certain opprobrious lines on the recto and to substitute a milder version. The second footnote on the cancellandum ended:

1. Sabin, 40708. It is an abridged translation of the first 10 vols. of *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, Paris, the complete series including the dates 1701-1776: Sabin, 40697.

Had these been Fools, as they are Hypocrites, the two following Lines (of *Dennis*, I think) might have been justly applied to both.

*Thus one Fool lolls his Tongue out at another,
And shakes his empty Noddy at his Brother.*

In the cancellans, these lines are replaced by:

Such Impositions must naturally raise the Indignation of a thinking, honest Man; and may incline him to entertain a very unfavourable Idea of the Probity of his Fellow-creatures, in general.

No other alterations appear on 2C₅^r, but on the verso (p. 394) a few minor changes may be recorded. Thus the cancellans removes the original capitalization of 'Native' in line 15, places the period outside instead of inside the quotation marks at the end of the first paragraph, alters 'infinite' to 'infinitely' in line 31, and substitutes 'more' for 'greater' as the first word of line 36.

A binder's error in the copy preserved in the University of Virginia Library reveals the position in which these two cancel leaves were printed and also offers other interesting information about the printing of the two volumes. The collation for vol. 1 is: 8^o, π⁴ A⁸ a⁴ B-G⁸(±H₁) I-2B⁸ 2C⁸(±2C₅) 2D-2H⁸ 2I⁴; pp. [2] *i-vi, i-xxii xxiii-xxiv, 1-487 488². In the Virginia copy, however, the cancellanda are still in place, and gathering 2I consists of eight leaves. The first and fourth folds, that is the first, fourth, fifth, and eighth leaves, constitute gathering 2I as it was intended to be bound in 4's. The second fold (the second and seventh leaves) is signed 'a' and 'a2' in italic and contains the table of contents for vol. 2 (missing in vol. 2 of the Virginia copy). The third fold consists of the two cancellans leaves, the third leaf signed 'H' and paged 97-98, and the sixth leaf unsigned but paged 393-394.

This method of imposition offers an excellent example of economy in printing. If the sheet were properly cut before folding and binding, one-half would be separated and would contain gathering 2I to be folded in 4's. If the remaining half-sheet were again sected, the two-leaf fold containing the contents of vol. 2 would be separated from the fold containing the cancellans leaves for vol. 1; and once these latter leaves were separated they could be substituted in their proper positions for the cancellanda. The evidence of the imposition is interesting as illustrating that in this book the full sheet 2I was intended to be separated into its parts before folding.

2. In the copy examined, two maps appear following sigs. A₄ and 2C₅ respectively.

The fact that the table of contents for vol. 2, with its pagination references, was printed as an integral part of the final text gathering of vol. 1 indicates most probably not that the type for this gathering was kept standing until vol. 2 had been set and printed but instead that the two volumes were simultaneously printed. A study of the press-numbers, although the details are too complex for presentation here, confirms this conclusion. According to these numbers, three presses were engaged in printing the two volumes. It is significant that no press-numbers appear in the text sheets of vol. 1 until gathering N, indicating that one press (undoubtedly press 2) printed and perfected these sheets. From N to S the press-numbers show that presses 1 and 2 printed or perfected the sheets for each other, although sheets T and U were both printed and perfected by press 1. With gathering X, press 3 enters the printing, and thereafter the three presses irregularly print and perfect, with press 2 somewhat in the minority. Vol. 2 was printed by presses 1 and 3 except that press 2 entered once to print the inner forme of the penultimate sheet 2I. The evidence suggests, therefore, that while press 2 was printing sheets B-M of vol. 1, presses 1 and 3 had substantially printed vol. 2 and thereupon turned to assist press 2 in completing vol. 1. Hence when sheet 2I of vol. 1 (numbered by press 3) was printed, the contents for vol. 2 could be included economically to help fill out a full sheet containing the final vol. 1 gathering in 4's and also two leaves of cancellans.

JESSIE R. LUCKE

Notes on Contributors

WILLIAM B. TODD, recently received his doctorate from the University of Chicago with a dissertation on new procedures for determining the identity and order of certain eighteenth-century editions. His article is a revision of a paper delivered before the Society in 1948. He is now chairman of the Department of English at Salem College, North Carolina.

PHILIP WILLIAMS, JR., received his doctorate from the University of Virginia in 1949 and is now Instructor in English at Duke University. His dissertation on the text of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* is in process of revision with a view to publication.

GILES E. DAWSON is Curator of Books and Manuscripts at The Folger Shakespeare Library. His article is drawn from material collected for a descriptive bibliography of Shakespeare in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

LESLIE HOTSON, now residing in Arlington, Virginia, continues his distinguished research in the Public Records Office to throw light on Shakespeare and the activities of other Elizabethan authors. The present article is one of the fruits of his latest trip to England which turned up much valuable information about Elizabethan books and publishing.

EUNICE WEAD, of Hartford, Connecticut, was for several years Curator of Rare Books at the General Library of the University of Michigan, and later a member of the faculty of the University's Department of Library Science, resigning in 1945. Her interest in blind-tooled bindings, first aroused by some remarkable specimens in Austrian monastic libraries, has been pursued in various parts of Europe and the United States.

LAWRENCE G. STARKEY received his doctorate from the University of Virginia in 1949 and is now instructor in English at the University of Delaware. The present article derives from his dissertation on a publishing history and descriptive bibliography of the Cambridge Press in Massachusetts.

J. ALBERT ROBBINS, Instructor in English at Duke University, is the author of various articles on nineteenth-century American periodicals which have appeared in the *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle* and the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*.

MERTON M. SEALTS, JR., Assistant Professor of English at Lawrence College, has contributed articles on Melville to various journals. His edition of Melville's uncollected prose, *Stories and Sketches*, is scheduled for early publication in the new Hendricks House edition of Melville's works.

C. WILLIAM MILLER, who received his doctorate from the University of Virginia in 1940, is now Associate Professor of English at Temple University. His trial *Check List of Henry Herringman Publications* has recently been issued in mimeographed form by the Society. The present article is a revision of material drawn from his Virginia dissertation on Orrery's *Parthenissa*.

JAMES S. STECK, a graduate student in the School of English at the University of Virginia, is at work on a dissertation concerned with the printing and textual history of various Dryden plays.

RODNEY M. BAINE, Associate Professor of English at the University of Richmond, received his B. A. and B. Litt. degrees from Oxford where he studied under the distinguished bibliographer Strickland Gibson.

EDWIN E. WILLOUGHBY, well known for his studies in Shakespeare's First Folio, is in charge of cataloguing at The Folger Shakespeare Library.

GEORGE W. WILLIAMS recently received his M. A. in the School of English at the University of Virginia.

IRBY B. CAUTHEN, JR., is a graduate student in the School of English at the University of Virginia.

PAUL S. DUNKIN, Senior Cataloguer at The Folger Shakespeare Library, is a frequent contributor to bibliographical journals in England and the United States.

JEREMIAH S. FINCH, Lecturer in English and Assistant Dean at Princeton University, has a new biography of Sir Thomas Browne scheduled for early publication.

EDMUND P. DANDRIDGE, JR., received his M. A. from the University of Michigan and is at present a graduate student in the School of English at the University of Virginia.

COOLIE VERNER, Associate in Community Services, Extension Division of the University of Virginia, is working on the bibliography of Jefferson's *Notes* with special attention to the inserted maps.

JESSIE RYON LUCKE received her doctorate in 1949 from the University of Virginia and is now Instructor in English at New York University.

FREDSON BOWERS, Professor of English at the University of Virginia, directs a graduate seminar in bibliographical research.

Informative Listings

THE Secretary of the Society maintains full files of catalogues of book dealers in the Rare Book Room of the University of Virginia Library, where they may be consulted by the members. Names of reliable dealers in special fields will be supplied to members by the Secretary on request.

The following are special listings of active members of the current book trade:

AMERICAN HISTORY, LITERATURE, AND AUTOGRAPHS. Also a wide variety of rare and out-of-print books in many fields. Catalogues. Goodspeed's Book Shop, 18 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Mass.

AMERICANA, GEOGRAPHY, Early Spanish and Portuguese Books, Incunabula, Bibliographies, History of Science, Books in Slavonic Languages, Out-of-Print Material, Sets of Scientific and Scholarly Periodicals and Publications of Learned Societies. Catalogues Issued. H. P. Kraus, 16 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y. Phone: VAnderbilt 6-4808.

AMERICANA—TRAVEL—ATLASES. Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 39 Great Russell Street, London, W. C. 1., England, and 16 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND REFERENCE APPARATUS for Scholars and Libraries. We are in active touch with foreign markets and can supply materials quickly and economically. Timothy Trace, Red Mill Road, RFD 2, Peekskill, N. Y.

BIBLIOGRAPHY — Reference Books — Printing — Palaeography — Illustration — General Literature — European Travel, etc.

Write for Catalogue 698. Francis Edwards, Ltd., 83 Marylebone High Street, London, W. 1, England.

BOOKS ON CHINA AND JAPAN: All related subjects and in all languages. Catalogues issued. Paragon Book Gallery, 2 West 86th Street, New York 24, N. Y.

CANADIANA. Books — Autographs — Prints. Government-and Learned Societies-publications. Enquiries and desideratas sollicited. Catalogues issued. Bernard Amtmann, 169 Daly Avenue, Ottawa, Canada.

DELAWARE PUBLICATION—FAMILY LETTERS. The Ridgelys of Delaware & Their Circle/ What Them Befell/ in Colonial & Federal Times: Letters 1751-1890. Underhill & Green, 3 The Green, Dover, Delaware. Dutton's, 270 Park Avenue, New York City. Trade edition \$7.50.

FRENCH Books, rare, out-of-print, or current. Literature, Literary Criticism, History, Philosophy. Illustrated editions from the 15th to 20th century. Music, Autographs. Pierre Berès, Inc., 6 West 56th St., New York 19, N. Y. Phone: Circle 5-9153.

NORTHWEST Books—Complete index of Northwest authors and writing from 1942-47, supplementing first edition now out of print. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln 8, Nebraska.

NEGRO HISTORY AND LITERATURE. The Negro Author in America from the beginning to the present day. Maxwell Whiteman, 4674 N. Sydenham Street, Philadelphia 40, Pennsylvania.

OLD OR RARE Books, or modern works which are out of print. Catalogues issued. Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., 11 Grafton Street, New Bond Street, London, W. 1, England.

RARE FIRST EDITIONS, Famous Press Books, Early American Imprints, Incunabula. Leamington Book Shop, 1713 K Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., Phone: REpublic 5258.

SPORTING Books (especially on THE HORSE, out-of-print and current publications in all languages on Breeding, Racing, Hunting, Polo, Riding and Driving), J. A. Allen, 1, Lower Grosvenor Place, Buckingham Palace Road, London, S. W. 1, England.

PAPERS READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY

(Supplementary to the list in *Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 206.)

Chalmers L. Gemmill, of the University of Virginia, "John Baskerville, Typefounder," 11 October 1946. (The Constitution of the Bibliographical Society was not formally adopted until February 26, 1947, but it was at the October 1946 meeting that, under the chairmanship of Dr. Gemmill, a committee was appointed to draw up the Constitution.)

William B. Todd, of the University of Chicago, "The Strange Case of the Monk: A Bibliographical Investigation," 17 December 1948.

Edwin Wolf 2nd, of the Rosenbach Company, "The Textual Importance of Manuscript Commonplace Books of 1620-1660," 14 January 1949.

William B. O'Neal, of the University of Virginia, "William Blake as Illustrator of Books," 25 February 1949.

Robert K. Black, formerly of the University of Virginia, "The Sadleir-Black Gothic Collection," 12 May 1949.

John Alden, of the University of Pennsylvania, "Problems in 18th Century American Bibliography," 20 May 1949.

David Randall, of the Scribner Book Store, "A Northern Firm and its Southern Authors," 19 September 1949.

James G. McManaway, of The Folger Shakespeare Library, "An Apology for Bibliography," 14 October 1949.

WINNERS OF 1949 STUDENT BOOK COLLECTORS' CONTEST

CLASS A

WILLOUGHBY NEWTON, First Place. (*Collection of T. S. Eliot.*)

BERTRAM C. COOPER, Second Place. (*Collection of Robert Frost.*)

GERALDINE C. TURNER, Third Place. (*Collection of Robert Frost.*)

CLASS B

IRBY B. CAUTHEN, JR., First Place. (*Collection on Charleston architecture.*)

YANCEY M. TAYLOR, Second Place. (*Collection of Hispanic-American studies.*)

EDWY B. LEE, Third Place. (*Collection of literature of the post-World War I generation.*)

*MIMEOGRAPHED PAPERS DISTRIBUTED BY
THE SOCIETY IN 1949*

- Robert K. Black, "The Sadleir-Black Gothic Collection," 1949.
Edwin Wolf 2nd, "The Textual Importance of Manuscript Commonplace Books of 1620-1660," 1949.
C. William Miller, "Henry Herringman Imprints: A Preliminary Checklist," 1949. (Out of print.)
Bibliographical Society of America, Committee of 19th Century Publishers, "Preliminary Finding List of Writings on the Kentucky Book Trade," 1949.
Fredson Bowers, "A Supplement to the Woodward & McManaway Check List of English Plays, 1641-1700," 1949.

PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE BY THE SOCIETY

- Papers*, Vol. 1, \$3.50. (Free to 1948 members.)
Papers, Vol. 2, \$5.00. (Free to 1949 members.)
Norfolk Copyright Entries, 1837-1870, transcribed by Barbara Harris, \$1.00. (Free to 1947 members.)
A Supplement to the Woodward & McManaway Check List of English Plays 1641-1700, by Fredson Bowers, \$1.00. (Free to 1949 members; sent only on request.)

ALL OTHER NON-CURRENT PUBLICATIONS ARE NOW OUT OF PRINT. The Society proposes to offset a limited number of copies of Dr. Paul G. Morrison's *Index of Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers in A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave: A Short-title Catalogue of English Books 1475-1640*. The 100-page paper-bound volume will be issued about March 1950, and will be available to subscribers only. Advance subscriptions may be sent to the Secretary. The price will be \$3.00 to non-members, \$2.00 to members.

COLOPHON

The second volume of the Bibliographical Society Papers, Studies In Bibliography was set in Monotype Garamont and printed on Strathmore Pastelle Text and Curtis Tweed-weave Cover.

Designing, composition and presswork were by the William Byrd Press, Inc. of Richmond, Virginia. The binding was done by L. H. Jenkins, Inc. of Richmond.

One thousand copies were printed and bound.

